Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-93-248 *29 December 1993*

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EC's Claes Calls Karadzic's Threats 'Indecent'

AU2812142693 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 93 p 3

[M.K. report: "Heads, as Well as Money Will Roll"]

[Text] Brussels—"Saucy details" from the failed but occasionally very dramatic meeting of foreign ministers of the European Union and their guests from the former Yugoslavia were being related in the circles of negotiators and mediators and in the lobbies of Egmont Palace yesterday.

The most dramatic moment apparently occurred when Karadzic threatened that blue helmets' "heads will roll" if Sarajevo becomes a UN protectorate, that is, if it is not divided. The first one to react was French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, who "asked" Dr. Karadzic to leave it to the Europeans to take the risk themselves. Chairman Willy Claes called Karadzic's statement "indecent," and as for some other assertions by the Bosnian Serbs' leader (particularly the one that 2 million Serbs are "hostages" of the European Union's policy), he assessed them as "textbook examples of forging history."

The European Union was not, it seems, being threatened only with "rolling heads," but also with "money." A story was circulating in the lobbies of Egmont Palace yesterday about President Milosevic having said during a cordial conversation with one of the opposing delegations that Europe "will pay him for the sanctions to the last cent." The bill that he will present to Europe for that reason allegedly amounts to $50 billion and will be charged by introducing special taxes on importing European goods into Serbia.

Russia's Churkin on New Peace Proposal

LD2812231793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2216 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister and special negotiator in the Yugoslav crisis, said in an interview to be published in tomorrow's edition of BORBA that Moscow's new peace proposal includes a formula for "freezing" and then lifting the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] even before a global peace agreement on Bosnia is signed.

The proposal, recently presented in Brussels, is to be implemented "providing the Serb side does not block the efforts to achieve a peace agreement" and it also envisages "certain conditions which the Serb side and the FRY would have to respect," Churkin said.

One of the conditions must be the withdrawal of the Bosnian Serb army from certain areas under its control, he said.

Churkin said that the Russian proposal envisages the beginning of the normalization of Serb-Croat relations through "mutual recognition and the setting up of diplomatic relations, with an indication that at the same time the problem of Krajina's political status will be solved later."

Churkin said that the agreement reached by Milosevic and Tudjman in Geneva was "a very good and important step" which "should help in regulating conflicts in Bosnia and completely unblocking Serb-Croat relations. That is why Russia has launched the initiative to immediately start work on a rapprochement between the Serbs and the Croats."

More on Visit, Comments by Russia's Zhirinovskiy

SDS Cites 'Imperial Ambitions'

AU2812083593 Sofia BTA in English 2245 GMT 27 Dec 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) expressed its utter surprise at the statements of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party in Russia, made during his private visit to Bulgaria which began on December 25 this year. "All internal policy decisions are now made in Sofia, not in Moscow," the SDS points out in its statement. The SDS condemns any attempts at the restoration of Russia's imperial ambitions regarding the Balkans under any form whatsoever. "Mr. Zhirinovskiy's statement about changing the status quo in the Balkans are either cheapish propaganda or a deliberate attempt to heighten tension in the region and expand the conflict which, in his opinion, should be settled by Russia," the SDS says in the statement signed by its leadership. It is pointed out that pursuing a policy of peace, stability and equality in the Balkans, the SDS does not want Mr. Zhirinovskiy's statements to influence the normal development of Bulgarian-Russian relations. [passage omitted]

Statement on Zhelev Denounced

AU2912082593 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 27 Dec 93 p 6

[Editorial commentary: "Zhirinovskiy Must Take His Words Back"]

[Text] The newly fledged Russian politician, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, expressed the wish that a certain adviser of his, of a questionable Bulgarian origin, should replace the Bulgarian president, who was directly elected by the people.

Thus Zhirinovskiy allowed himself something that even Brezhnev did not allow himself at the period of the brightest blossoming of the most cordial and friendly Bulgarian-Soviet relations.

Zhirinovskiy did not specify how the change should take place. He did not say whether he means an "import" as the case was with Prince Battemberg, or whether his adviser Svetoslav Stoilov should present his candidacy for the next presidential elections, if of course he has the right to do this.

Obviously, the Russian nationalist means the first, because the next presidential elections will take place a long time from now.

With statements such as the one about replacing the Bulgarian president, the Russian Zhirinovskiy, who ostensibly presents himself as a friend of Bulgaria, does a great favor to the Russophobes in our country. They obtain a new trump card in their claim to curb relations with Russia as much as possible. Indeed, they have good justification. Who would be crazy enough to maintain closer relations with a country whose premier could be a man that determines who the Bulgarian president should be?

Zhirinovskiy also startles the Russophiles, who would like Bulgarian-Russian relations to develop in a democratic manner. The same applies to Russians who support the democratic development of relations, without Yeltsin's tanks against the "White House," but also without reviving the imperial ambitions, which in the past have not brought anything good to any nation.

Zhirinovskiy errs if thinks that with such statements he would attract new supporters in Bulgaria. Regardless how numerous Moscow's friends in Bulgaria are, there only are a few of them who would like to see Bulgaria as a part of the USSR, let alone present-day Russia.

This is so because the Bulgarians have already tasted democracy. Regardless of how badly a large part of the population lives, our people would never want to return to the time when strangers used to knock on the door at sunrise and lead people to an unknown destination.

On the basis of Zhirinovskiy's statements so far, one could assume the Russian nationalist leader wants to install a president who would do precisely this. Thank you very much. We do not want it.

What we want is an apology. Bulgaria is a sovereign state.

Jeered by Crowd in Sofia

AU2812151293 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of Russia's Liberal Democratic Party, who is currently on a private visit to Bulgaria, was jeered in downtown Sofia by 300-400 people. Mr. Zhirinovsky was laying flowers at the monument to Russian King Aleksandr II in front of parliament building. Aleksandr II's reign coincided with Bulgaria's liberation from Turkish rule in the wake of the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War. [passage omitted]

The Sofia demonstrators chanted slogans like "Out of Here," "KGB," and "Go Home." Police had to interfere to keep law and order.

Zhirinovskiy Denies Criticizing Zhelev

AU2812180493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpt] This afternoon, under conditions of exceptional security, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, who is paying a private visit to Bulgaria, held a news conference at the press club of the Balkan Agency in Sofia.

In his statement Zhirinovskiy denied that he had spoken out against the lawfully elected Bulgarian president, declared his respect for Bulgaria and its people, and stated that no one can or is entitled to teach a state or its people how they should live and what government they should have.

It was also announced at the news conference that representatives of the Bulgarian Liberal Democratic Party, along with Chairman Veselin Koshev, will visit Russia at the end of January 1994 as guests of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, and that at the end of March Vladimir Zhirinovskiy will pay them a return visit, this time in his capacity as a political figure. [passage omitted]

Claims Media 'Distorted' Statements

AU2812205293 Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Report by Ekaterina Kazasova]

[Excerpts] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—"The thought of ousting Bulgaria's president has never crossed my mind," Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of Russia's Liberal Democratic Party, told a news conference today. He arrived on a private visit here on December 25.

Zhirinovskiy charged that the press had distorted his statements. On his arrival Zhirinovskiy told a BTA reporter that a change in Bulgaria's political leadership was the most important thing now. [passage omitted]

Today Zhirinovskiy categorically denied having spoken against the lawfully elected Bulgarian president. "I love free and sovereign Bulgaria and this is what has brought me here for the second time this year," he told journalists. To prove his respect for the Bulgarian people, he pointed out that his economic adviser was of Bulgarian origin. It emerged Zhirinovskiy had not intended to nominate him for the Bulgarian Presidency and had spoken only hypothetically.

No one should dictate to the Bulgarians how to live, neither Moscow nor Berlin, nor elsewhere, Zhirinovskiy said. According to him, Bulgaria, which is located in a dangerous geopolitical region, should play a more active role in the Balkans.

Zhirinovskiy drew a parallel between Bulgaria and Russia: Both are Slav countries and have the same alphabet and religion. A further point of similarity is the fact that, according to him, they are surrounded by countries that have territorial claims on them. Dobrudzha, Macedonia and Thrace were originally Bulgarian lands, Zhirinovskiy said. Later on it turned out he was not in favour of "retailoring" Europe's political borders but had simply recalled facts "from the historical point of view." What he recalled might explain the fact that he has been followed all day today by a small group of Bulgarian fans carrying placards and chanting "Dobrudzha, Macedonia, Thrace." Luchezar Stoyanov, leader of the Bulgarian National Democratic Party, said today he saw constructive elements in Zhirinovskiy's view on Bulgaria's right to claim Macedonia and Thrace. On the other hand, the leadership of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies said Zhirinovskiy's statements "jeopardized Bulgaria's security."

The leader of the Russian Liberal Democrats spoke in favour of re-establishing economic and cultural contacts between Bulgaria and Russia. According to him, Bulgaria would stand to gain from this. "I am calling for mutually advantageous regional cooperation rather than for Pan-Slavism," he stressed. [passage omitted]

Zhirinovskiy also laid flowers today at the Monument to the Unknown Warrior. The crowd formed a human chain to prevent him from reaching the place but his bodyguards opened up a path for him. Shortly afterwards, people trod on and threw away the flowers laid by him. This reporter heard an onlooker say: "This is a Bulgarian monument and there is no place for this fascist's flowers here." Zhirinovskiy was accompanied by his own bodyguards and others hired from a private firm providing protection services. Though he had not asked the Bulgarian authorities for police protection, his visit to Sofia today was marked by tight security.

Zhirinovskiy also visited the Aleksandr Nevski Cathedral in Sofia's centre, built to commemorate Bulgaria's liberation. The press and the public were not admitted into the cathedral.

Speaking at the news conference today, Zhirinovskiy raised the issue of the monument to the Soviet Army in central Sofia. He expressed indignation over its appearance (the monument is covered with graffiti), saying that hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers had died here and this monument had been built to commemorate them.

"I am not going to meet any political figures, this is a private visit," Zhirinovskiy said. He also said he would pay an official visit to Bulgaria in late March as the leader of what he described as the most influential political force in Russia. The extraparliamentary Liberal Democratic Party of Bulgaria, headed by Veselin Koshev, has extended an invitation to him.

At 7.30 PM today the Interior Ministry ordered Vladimir Zhirinovskiy to leave the country within 24 hours. "In a number of statements Vladimir Zhirinovskiy used abusive language against Bulgaria's head of state and expressed views which are an inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. His statements pose a real danger of complicating Bulgaria's relations with its neighbouring countries. With his conduct and public statements, Mr. Zhirinovskiy has damaged the prestige and dignity of the Bulgarian nation, and this is not tolerated in international relations," says a statement of the Interior Ministry Press Office.

Ordered To Leave Country

AU2812191493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov issued an order today revoking Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's right to remain in Bulgaria and warned him that he must leave the country within 24 hours.

Zhirinovskiy Departs for Moscow

AU2912104093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] The Balkan Agency reports that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy took off this morning from Sofia for Moscow. The report is based on information provided by circles close to the Bulgarian Liberal Democratic Party.

Zhirinovskiy said that he is departing for Moscow to prepare for his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, which will take place on 30 December.

Papers Comment on Visit

AU2912123493 Sofia BTA in English 1136 GMT 29 Dec 93

[From BTA's 29 December "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—"Zhirinovskiy Booed Out of Bulgaria," (DUMA, the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP). "Big Brother Zhirinovskiy's Boot Slips Under Press Pressure," (ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, the daily of the most influential Agrarian Party), "Sofianites Give Zhirinovskiy Kick," (the trade union daily TRUD), "We, Too, Misunderstood Zhirinovskiy," (the independent OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK), "Zhirinovskiy Denies Having Called on the President To Resign," (the private KONTINENT daily): This is a sample of front-page headlines following yesterday's Sofia visit by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), who is on a private visit to Bulgaria. The dailies carry photos of Zhirinovskiy laying flowers at the Monument to the Unknown Soldier and to Tsar Aleksandr II who waged the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, leading to Bulgaria's liberation from Turkish rule. "Sofia Boos and Applauds Notorious Russian," runs a DUMA headline. A front-page story in the private STANDART NEWS daily stresses that Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov yesterday ordered Vladimir Zhirinovskiy to leave the country within 24 hours. Yesterday the LDP leader said he was leaving for Russia today only to come back later as Russian president. The dailies also remind of Zhirinovskiy's pledge to pay an official visit to Bulgaria as deputy in March or April.

"Probably it was out of sheer modesty that our surprise guest from the east did not proclaim himself savior," OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK says, commenting on yesterday's news conference of the LDP leader. A signed commentary in the same daily stresses the statement of Bulgarian National Democratic Party Chairman Luchezar Stoyanov before a BTA reporter that "it is the first time in the past years that a Russian politician has stood up for Bulgaria's national interests," referring to Mr. Zhirinovskiy's statements that Bulgaria should get back the whole of Macedonia and Aegean Thrace. "One thing is sure: The European tour of the dramatic Russian politician shocked not only Bulgaria but also the civilized nations of several continents. After Berlin politely shut the door on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, observers of his shuttle started speculating whether Skopje would be his next stop," the OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK commentary goes. "Populism is a weapon and if Zhirinovskiy has made use of it, I wonder why we should look down on him and treat him as a semi-idiot after he won 25 percent of the votes in the elections," extra- parliamentary Bulgarian Business Bloc leader George Ganchev says in the same daily.

Under the lead "Zhirinovskiy Claims He Respects Everybody and Never Said Anything Bad," DEMOKRATSIYA, the daily of the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS), stresses on Zhirinovskiy's statement at a news conference yesterday that he went for a swim in the Aegean Sea on Monday [27 December], leaving his passport at the German Embassy in Sofia as he applied for a visa. "Informed about this over the telephone, Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou ordered customs officers to immediately lift the turnpike and let in the LDP leader," the story goes.

"Zhirinovskiy: Parody of His Own Self, or How Nice It Is He Prattles So Much," caps a story in DEMOKRATSIYA by Mikhail Nedelchev, MP of the SDS, who was among the observers of the Russian general elections on December 12. "Some people—here, in Russia and elsewhere—say 'enough of this Zhirinovskiy, all this publicity boosts his image and promotes him.' I don't think so. We should talk about Zhirinovskiy, and the more the better. Not because he himself is a grave threat, although we should not overlook him. But Zhirinovskiy's appearance and his absurd statements enable us to act preventively and unmask this kind of political behaviour before it has assumed the disastrous proportions of the 1920's and 1930's—a gruesome social disease," the author says.

"Why Zhirinovskiy came to Bulgaria precisely now and precisely in the Pirin area? Whose interests does he serve and what is he after," reads a declaration of the extra-parliamentary Bulgarian Agrarian Party headed by Anastasiya Mozer. "All 'Pan-Slavist,' 'Great Russia,' 'Great Imperial' or whatever they are called, doctrines are hopelessly outdated now that there are the ideas of united Europe and the integration processes going on on the continent," says the document published in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov Refuses To Sign Moscow Aid Evidence

AU2712172293 Sofia BTA in English 1546 GMT 27 Dec 93

["Todor Zhivkov Disowns Evidence on Communist Aid Case"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—At the National Investigative Service this morning, former Bulgarian communist leader and head of state Todor Zhivkov refused to sign the evidentiary material on the latest criminal proceedings initiated against him, popularly known as the "Moscow Fund Case." The material was signed by Mr. Zhivkov's court-appointed lawyer and by two witnesses.

The evidentiary material consists of Mr. Zhivkov's 29 orders under which a total of $11,620,000 in public money were sent to Moscow between 1959 and 1987 to aid various communist parties and movements around the world, said Prosecutor Plamen Tsankov, who will sign Mr. Zhivkov's indictment. It will charge the ex-chief of state with aggravated gross embezzlement which, on conviction, carries a prison sentence of ten to 30 years.

Mr. Zhivkov, 82, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment on September 4, 1992 for abusing his authority and exceeding his rights as a senior public servant. He was found guilty of exceeding his rights in setting the prices of 67 motor cars and in disbursing meals and entertainment allowances to his entourage between 1962 and 1989, when he was secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, head of government and chief of state. Mr. Zhivkov appealed against this sentence and, pending the decision of the higher court, remains under house arrest at the weekend house of his granddaughter (whom he adopted as daughter) in Sofia's "nomenklatura" suburb of Boyana.

BTA Sums Up 1993 Foreign Policy Achievements

AU2812201693 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Review by Iva Toncheva]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—A drive to integration into the European structures, promotion of good-neighbourly relations with the Balkan states, good contacts with the superpowers: These priorities of Bulgaria's foreign policy, proclaimed after the ouster of the communist regime four years ago, have been operative throughout the outgoing year.

This year Bulgaria signed an EC association agreement. Talks with GATT continued with Bulgaria hoping to join it in 1994. Bulgaria and EFTA signed a general agreement. Bulgaria and its private creditors of the London Club reached an agreement in principle on the settlement of Bulgaria's foreign debt. Parliament unanimously adopted a special declaration on Bulgaria's desire to join NATO.

The situation in the Balkans and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina were the most debated issues during visits to Bulgaria by foreign politicians and visits abroad by the president, the prime minister and the foreign minister.

Two Greek foreign ministers paid formal visits here. Turkey's and Macedonia's foreign ministers also visited Bulgaria. This country adhered to the principle of non-intervention in the Yugo-conflict and to its commitment not to take advantage of the hardship suffered by the disintegrating Yugoslavia. Bulgaria strictly observed the UN Security Council's Yugo-embargo. A special memorandum in May, by which Bulgaria demanded a transport corridor through Serbia, specified the country had lost thousands of millions of U.S. dollars as a result of sanctions enforcement. Bulgaria has recently been allowed a transit corridor through Serbia. Last week the UN General Assembly adopted a Bulgarian-sponsored resolution on rendering economic assistance to countries affected by the Yugo-embargo.

In June Prime Minister Lyuben Berov paid a two-day formal visit to Macedonia. The two countries signed an agreement on business, economic and cultural contacts. Bulgaria, the first country to officially recognize Macedonia and send its consul there, established diplomatic relations with it at embassy level last week.

Prime Minister Berov met his Serb counterpart Radoje Kontic during the latter's unofficial visit to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian prime minister also paid an official visit to Moscow. In May Sofia was visited by the Spanish royal couple: King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia. In June Bulgaria was visited by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

In July Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro paid an official visit to Bulgaria, the first by an Italian head of state after World War II. "I saw a firm will for democratization of society in Bulgaria," Mr. Scalfaro told journalists. In February Bulgaria was visited by the then Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl paid an official visit here in mid-June. He met with President Zhelev to discuss the Yugo-crisis, Bulgaria's association with the EC, this country's foreign debt, and ways to curb the flow of Bulgarian emigrants to Germany. During Mr. Kohl's visit, the sides signed three documents supplementing the already effective 17 bilateral economic framework agreements: on environmental protection, on air transport and a protocol on cooperation in the training of Bulgarian managers.

In July the Bulgarian Government and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees signed a cooperation agreement. Bulgaria signed the Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons in Paris.

Council of Europe Secretary General Catherine Lalumiere has been to Bulgaria twice this year. In 1994 this country will take over the rotating presidency of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers.

In March Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, at that time also acting foreign minister, held talks with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner in Brussels.

President Zhelev paid official visits to Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Albania, Poland, Romania and

Israel. Next year Bulgaria will need "a more active administration to further what has already been achieved in foreign policy by the official state institutions, parliament, the president and the government," President Zhelev said in a recent interview on national radio.

Kozloduy's First Unit Producing Power

AU2812171493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] After being shut down for two years for reconstruction and modernization, today the No. 1 generating unit of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant was connected in parallel with the national power grid and is producing its first kilowatt-hours of electricity.

Radioactive Waste Facility Under Construction

AU2812143993 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Work started today at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant on constructing a plant for radioactive waste in the vicinity of Special Building No. 3. The plant is being built according to a design project supplied by the Belgian division of the U.S. Westinghouse Company and it will cost over $11 million. Bulgaria has paid over $8 million for the project and the equipment. The sides participating in the investment process have cleared up all disputed points regarding the project: the location of the plant, the construction schedules, and their mutual obligations. The plant is expected to be completed before the middle of 1995.

According to the Westinghouse project, the technology for treating solid waste provides for the waste to be loaded into barrels that are then compressed into blocks [tableti].

Deputy Defense Minister on Military Budget

AU2812132593 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Miroslav Kalousek by Jan Gazdik; place and date not given: "The Army Costs Each Citizen of the Czech Republic 2,500 Korunas Annually"]

[Text] Following the probes into the 1994 budgets of the Interior and Justice Ministries, we attempted the same thing at the Defense Ministry. "The property of the Army is the property of the Czech Republic, and the financial resources at our disposal are money of the taxpayers," Deputy Defense Minister Miroslav Kalousek told us. "All the more reason the people should know how the money is managed."

[Gazdik] The 27 billion [korunas] the parliament approved for you is a lot of money in comparison with the other sectors. Where does it actually go?

[Kalousek] For the sake of transparency, let us divide the expenditures into military and nonmilitary ones: 22 billion and 152 million are assigned for noninvestment military expenses (this includes the purchase of fuel or new technology), and 650 million is earmarked for investments. The non-military expenditures are more varied: the largest item is the pensions for soldiers, 1.5 billion; financial restitutions come to 624 million, civil defense 680 million, the building of a system of management and maintenance of aviation 370 million, and expenses for the unit in Croatia 152 million korunas—these expenses are coming back to us through the UN. In this manner we would gradually reach 27 billion.

[Gazdik] The Interior Ministry has 16.7 billion, the "Justice" 5.3... and you still speak about a survival budget?

[Kalousek] The social demand calls for guaranteeing the striking power, and that is costly. The transformation of the Army is not free either. If the Czech Army is to have any meaning whatever, we have to invest in the rapid deployment units (800 million), the technical rebuilding of the logistic-supply system (500 million), and a modern communications network (300 million). We hope that the people will understand that the Army, in addition to the operational costs, cannot do without the development—if we want to transform it. While this year the ratio between development and operational spending is 1:9, which leads to the demise of the Army, it will improve to 2:8 (ideal is 3:7). Development means new communications systems, integrated logistics, computer networks, and new arms (100 million). We have received exactly enough not to threaten the operability of the Army while continuing with the transformation. We are speaking about the boundaries of the necessary and the possible.

Slovak Soldiers To Be Dismissed From Army

AU2812164793 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—Proposals to dismiss 50 career soldiers having Slovak citizenship, who serve in the Czech Army, were presented in early December by the Personnel Department of the Defense Ministry, Ministerial Spokesman Zdenek Borkovec told CTK today. By December 28, the number of these soldiers decreased to 31, Borkovec added.

They will be discharged because they have failed to submit the certificate on release from Slovak citizenship and have failed to acquire Czech citizenship, Borkovec said.

As the law on military service stipulates that no foreign national can serve in the Czech Army, each of the 7,070 Slovak career soldiers, employed in January, had to prove by the end of March that he had asked for release from Slovak citizenship. In August, the whole Czech Army numbered 94,000 troops.

The certificate on acquisition of the Czech citizenship can be submitted until December 31. This year 539 Slovak officers and 201 officer cadets were discharged from the Czech army. A total of 782 were transferred to the Slovak Army. A Slovak Defense Ministry official told CTK that no Czech citizen would serve in the Slovak Army as of January 1.

Official Denies Parliament Members Spying

AU2812064893 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Kasal Rules Out any Possibility of Conscious Collaboration by the Deputies With Foreign Intelligence"]

[Text] Prague—Jan Kasal, Chamber of Deputies deputy chairman (Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party), definitely rules out any possibility that a parliamentary deputy would collaborate with any intelligence service. "It would be contrary to the deputies' oath and a very serious matter," he said on Tuesday [21 December] in an interview for CTK in connection with the rumors that the counterespionage service suspects some deputies of the Czech Parliament of collaboration with Russian intelligence.

To the question of whether an investigatory commission is to be established that would deal with reports on the alleged collaboration of some deputies with the Russian intelligence service, Kasal replied that if the Security and Intelligence Service, for instance, discovered some specific information about the deputies, it would be necessary for parliament to deal with it.

At the same time, however, he said that the situation is far from ripe for an investigatory commission to be established in line with the laws currently in effect. "The

information at our disposal is, I would term it, very unspecific and superficial," he said in conclusion.

Devaty Denies StB List Provided by Commission

AU2812203993 Prague CTK in English 1811 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—Stanislav Devaty told CTK today he did not think that the list of former Secret Police (StB) agents as published by NECENZUROVANE NOVINY leaked from the parliamentary November 17th Commission which investigated the events which had led to the fall of the communist regime in late 1989. But he admitted the list and the commission's database were similar to a certain degree.

Devaty, a former member of the commission and now temporary director of the Security Information Service (BIS), said both lists contain the same mistakes. But comparing them, "I found out that the list published in NECENZUROVANE NOVINY contained certain information, especially registration numbers, which the November 17th commission's database did not contain and which had to be added by somebody, but I don't know by whom," Devaty said.

"I personally do not think it the list leaked from the November 17th Commission," he added.

"The November 17th Commission's database was secured so that any leak was technically ruled out. It was well controlled and moreover there was no possibility of copying it," Devaty said. He affirmed that the list could not be taken out by any member of the commission.

According to today's press, the publisher of NECENZUROVANE NOVINY, Petr Cibulka, indirectly confirmed in an interview with the Czechoslovak news agency in June 1992 that the list came from the commission.

He said that the published list was authentic and "if there are mistakes in them, they had been made by the people who were charged by the commission with transcribing them right from registers into the computer."

Parties Call For StB Archives Declassification

AU2812204093 Prague CTK in English 1853 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—The Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Liberal National Social Party (LSNS) and probably also the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) would support in parliament a possible bill on declassification of the archives of the former State Police (StB), according to a CTK poll today. The ODA and the KDS are government coalition parties.

Deputies from another coalition party, the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) would support it in the extreme case, while the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) would vote against it.

The other parliamentary parties, including the strongest coalition government member, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), did not answer CTK's question.

The poll was conducted in reaction to Interior Minister Jan Ruml's considerations to submit to the government the basics of such a bill, published by the press this week.

Jan Rejzek, spokesman for the ODA, told CTK that a bill, which would allow the citizen to look into StB files concerning him or her should have already been submitted to parliament.

Jaroslav Orel, spokesman for the KDU-CSL, said that "the government and parliament should give priority to dirty money and to dirty hands which are tending to control our economy.... The StB archives are certainly important, but we consider the question who will get control of our economy more important," he added.

Vera Zezulkova, spokeswoman for the KSCM, said that the declassification of the archives could under certain circumstances prevent manipulation of the StB data.

But the communists believe that most citizens no longer consider it of paramount importance "who was or was not an StB collaborator.... Moreover, the proposed method of declassification of the StB archives does not guarantee objective information," Zezulkova said. She added that the declassification proposal "is motivated by an attempt to divert citizens" attention from their real problems.

Poll: Over Half Unhappy With Situation

AU2812144593 Prague CTK in English 1021 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—One in three respondents to a December poll is satisfied with the political situation in the Czech Republic.

According to the Institute for Public Opinion Research, half the respondents said they were rather unsatisfied and one in seven very unsatisfied with the situation. One in twenty had no opinion.

The political situation approval ratio has fluctuated over the year, with a 13 percent drop in December as the largest one-month change recorded.

Cernak Calls on SNS Deputies To Be 'Honest'

AU2812144393 Prague CTK in English 1253 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 28 (CTK)—"It would be honest if those who are not pursuing the goals of the Slovak National Party (SNS) but identify themselves with the programme of another movement say it openly and clearly," SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak said on Slovak Radio today, referring to SNS parliamentary deputies.

On a coalition agreement concluded between the SNS and the ruling Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Cernak said that he by no means questioned a partnership coalition. He said the leadership of the party is guided by the party's internal decisions. "The moment the situation within the SNS becomes clear, SNS leaders will start talks with HZDS Chairman and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar," Cernak said.

Commenting on his recent statement that Meciar will find a new coalition partner in the Democratic Left Party (SDL) now that his cooperation with the SNS has failed to work, Cernak said it was merely his personal opinion and not that of the party.

Officials on SNS Conflict

AU2812144093 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 93 p 2

[Interviews with Slovak National Party Chairman Ludovit Cernak, and Miloslav Kona, new chairman of the National Democratic Deputies' Club of the SNS, by Martin Krno; place and date not given: "They Do Not Question the Government Coalition"]

[Text] Six of the 14 National Council Deputies for the Slovak National Party [SNS] Club members—L. Cernak, M. Janicina, A. Hrnko, S. Kvietik, G. Kaliska, and V. Miskovsky—issued a statement in which they announced the foundation of the National Democratic Deputies' Club of the SNS. They elected Vladimir Miskovsky as club chairman.

The signatories of the statement state, among other things, that the cooperation on the basis of trust and mutual respect has become impossible in the original SNS Deputies' Club. They appeal to those deputies who were elected for the SNS, and who blindly identified themselves with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] policy, to act ethically and transfer to the government movement. It has become a public issue in recent weeks that problems have been accumulating in the "nationals'" club. We asked SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak about the last straw that broke the camel's back.

[Cernak] It was the election of Deputy Prime Minister Andel as deputy chairman of the club. That is the same thing as if the prime minister asked to be concurrently deputy chairman of the parliament, although he is not a deputy. Nevertheless, I am not giving up hope. Some deputies will probably still grasp the concept we endorse—the concept of a partners' coalition. They favor a vassal one. After all, it is beyond comprehension that the SNS deputies did not support in the voting on the state budget the motion by Milan Ftacnik that could have substantially improved the situation in the education sector, which is led by a representative of our party.

[Krno] How is the situation in your party going to develop?

[Cernak] Using the regular procedures, I will call an extraordinary meeting of the Presidium and the Central Council of the SNS. Their members, as well as the ordinary SNS members, will have to decide which concept to support: mine—the national democratic one—or the HZDS policy.

[Krno] How will this project into the future of the coalition?

[Cernak] We do not question the partners' coalition.

We also asked Miloslav Kona, new chairman of the National Democratic Deputies' Club of the SNS, for his opinion regarding the aforementioned statement. He told us, among other things, the following:

[Kona] The so-called blind identification with the program, methods, and policy of the HZDS is confused with the endeavor to fulfill the commitments inferred by the coalition agreement. Those who signed the statement are trying to mislead the public. We certainly do not intend to identify with the HZDS basis, but rather remain an independent political entity, with the provision that we will fulfill our obligations. Our club will continue its operation. We will also ask that our former colleagues act ethically and leave the SNS.

[Krno] Can it be considered a logical thing to do if you elected Marian Andel as deputy chairman of the parliamentary club, while his deputy mandate is suspended following his assuming the post of deputy prime minister?

[Kona] Although he has a specific position in the National Council, there is no problem with his being deputy chairman of the club. Mr. Cernak claimed that it violates the statutes. We will study them once more to see who is right.

[Krno] To what degree could this affect the fate of the government coalition?

[Kona] The coalition is not threatened. The coalition agreement is valid, and we will do our best to keep it on the partnership principles rather than the SNS serving as a nursery for the HZDS. There are signs that the ruling movement is interested in maintaining the coalition although our club has only eight members now.

Deputies Club Chief Comments

AU2812154393 Bratislava SME in Slovak 23 Dec 93 p 1

[Interview with Vladimir Miskovsky, National Council of the Slovak Republic deputy for the Slovak National Party, by Robert Kotian; place and date not given: "We Do Not Want To Give Up Our Own Identity"]

[Text] [Kotian] In your statement, signed by deputies L. Cernak, M. Janicina, A. Hrnko, S. Kvietik, G. Kaliska, and yourself, you write about the creation of a National Democratic Deputies Club of the Slovak National Party [SNS] with the objective of "saving face and the political identity of the SNS and yourselves." What led to the split—was it just the budget?

[Miskovsky] It certainly was not just because of the budget. The voting of members of the club has been witness to that. The differentiation began after the unsuccessful coalition talks in Dubnica, as the party leadership started to polarize, it continued in the deputies' club, and the entire party became polarized.

[Kotian] Why?

[Miskovsky] The party is polarizing on the basis of the dilemma whether we are to give up our own policy and accept the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] program, or create an alternative program for the future.

[Kotian] What does this mean for the function of the coalition?

[Miskovsky] This situation cannot last long. It will have to be dealt by the SNS bodies, but I myself do not see any problem in the performance of the coalition. The HZDS will be complemented by the same number of deputies as left with Milan Knazko. A moderately minority government will be in charge in Slovakia supported by two or three hidden supporters in the deputies' clubs who, at the time of crisis, as it happened today, will support the government policy.

[Kotian] Do you differ also in your stand regarding the ethnic minorities?

[Miskovsky] The entire discussion of the so-called Komarno appeal, the formulation and adoption of a resolution is the work of this new deputies' club. The other part was just "carried along," and it is up to them whether they assume a more radical or more moderate stand.

SNS Member Criticizes Cernak

AU2812144493 Prague CTK in English 1327 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 28 (CTK)—Marian Andel, a member of the Slovak National Party (SNS) parliamentary group, told on Slovak Radio today that he has always been a believer in SNS unity but not its division which is currently being carried out by SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak.

That the SNS Deputies' Club has divided into two parts is a continuation of the "politicking" in which he sees no deeper meaning, Andel said. He said that given the difficult economic situation in Slovakia it was necessary to solve problems and not to distract attention from problems of first importance.

Andel voiced disappointment that because of today's meeting of the SNS presidium he had to cancel his foreign trip, during which he had hoped to discuss several advantageous offers of support for Slovak education. Now he will have to sit for three hours at the meeting and be engaged in "politicking," Andel said.

He said he believed that a meeting of the SNS Central Council would be convened to decide on calling an extraordinary party congress.

SNS Leadership Demands Meeting

AU2812213193 Prague CTK in English 1954 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 28 (CTK)—Leadership of the Slovak National Party (SNS) has charged Ludovit Cernak, the SNS chairman, to convene a joint meeting of the SNS Central Council and all the deputies to clarify the party's further representation in the Slovak parliament, Anna Malikova, the SNS Deputy Chairman, told journalists today.

The SNS (14 deputies in the 150-member Slovak parliament) is divided over its attitude to the governing Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS, 66 deputies) with which it concluded a coalition cabinet on October 19. One group of eight deputies, headed by Deputy Premier Marian Andel, prefers closer ties with the HZDS, while the other, headed by Cernak, has strong reservations about the HZDS. The latter, six-deputies strong group has created the National Democratic Club of the SNS.

According to some analysts, the difference could result in the party's split, while the first group would join the HZDS and the other the opposition Alliance of Slovak Democrats (ADS).

"It will be sufficient to convene the Central Council, the party's supreme body between the congresses, to resolve the SNS crisis," Cernak said. He added that he hoped that it would not be necessary to convoke the party congress. Only the party congress can dismiss the party chairman and elect a new one.

According to Cernak, the Central Council will recommend to the two SNS groups of deputies how to vote, e.g., on an amendment to the law on big privatization. This means that if the two groups act the same way, they may become an equal coalition partner of the HZDS, he said.

Minister Explains Termination of RFE Agreement

AU2812203893 Prague CTK in English 1923 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 28 (CTK)—"Absolutely ruled out, is any political motivation of the decision to terminate the agreement with Radio Free Europe (RFE) on its broadcast via Slovak medium-waved transmitters by January 31," Roman Hofbauer, minister of transport, telecommunications and public works told CTK today. The Slovak Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works has announced that the spreading of the programme of the foreign state through the transmitters of the Slovak telecommunications contradicts the Slovak legal standards.

On the political consequences resulting from the decision, Hofbauer said that "these questions were not raised when the agreement had been concluded, and I see no reason to contemplate them when the validity of the agreement is terminated. Asked which Slovak laws were violated by the foreign broadcasting from Slovak transmitters, Hofbauer responded: "In Slovakia, the laws passed by the Slovak Parliament are valid. The legal system stems from the existence of the independent state, not from the federal former Czechoslovak documents. But it is not necessary for the parliament to pass a law, when the transport ministry has decided. The abrogation of an agreement is fully within power of the relevant ministry in the sovereign state, the Slovak Republic."

Hofbauer confirmed that the decision had been taken by the ministry, with no intervention from higher places: "As in 1990, when the decision was taken by the Federal Ministry of Telecommunications, this time, too, this is within the power of the Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works."

Questions Quality of RFE

LD2912000793 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Slovak papers today published a number of views on the announced cancellation of [Radio] Free Europe [RFE] medium wave rebroadcasting on 1,281 kHz. They were addressed predominantly to [Slovak Communications] Minister Roman Hofbauer and therefore we asked him to react to them on our program:

[Begin recording] [Hofbauer] I think that this is a classical example of turning an entirely technical and expert issue into a political issue which has assumed a totally absurd size. [passage omitted]

This is an entirely technical and commercial issue which does not have anything to do with politics. The issue is free of any political link also because [words indistinct] RFE broadcasts on a number of different waves and frequencies and thus anybody interested in listening to this radio station can do so, as people used to do before 1989, today without any hindrance at all.

[Unidentified correspondent] Despite this, there are views expressed in public that the [Slovak] Government has failed to cope with too sharp criticism of editors writing RFE commentaries.

[Hofbauer] I do not think that this is a government's problem. It is above all the problem of the RFE editorial team. In my view they are of the same hue and have a very one-track orientation, they are taking in only a certain spectrum of moves in our society. This does not benefit RFE broadcasts.

Until 1989 RFE was a very extraordinarily important source of information for our population because in the period when we were not free and were under communist oppression they in fact represented one of very few objective and interesting sources of information on world events. It is pity that they have failed to follow this path at present. In substance, at present they concentrate only on a certain sector of what is happening in our society. It would benefit them if they report on the entire width of the political spectrum in our country. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Roman Kovac Comments

AU2812171193 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 28 (CTK)—The decision to terminate the agreement with the Radio Free Europe (RFE) on its broadcast via Slovak medium-waved transmitters by January 31 is just a technical problem, not motivated by political considerations, Deputy Premier Roman Kovac told CTK today.

The agreement was concluded between the American side and the government of the former Czechoslovakia in 1990. Now the Slovak Ministry of Transport, Telecommunications and Public Works has announced that the spreading of the programme of the foreign state through the transmitters of the Slovak telecommunications contradicts the Slovak legal standards.

Kovac said that the decision, taken by Transport Minister Roman Hofbauer, had not been consulted in the government. "On my order, Hofbauer will contact RFE representatives to consult the whole problem, explain the needs of Slovak Radio broadcasts and to find a joint feasible solution," Kovac said. "I am convinced that no political motives are implied in the decision," he stressed. "It is necessary to take into account the technical needs and problems of broadcasting in Slovakia, and harmonize them with the needs of RFE which had done tremendous work for the development of democracy during the totalitarian rule and after the revolution. I highly esteem the work of the RFE, and it is necessary to create conditions for its work," Kovac stated.

The RFE can continue its broadcasting on short waves, Ivan Vaclavik, a spokesman for the Transport Ministry told CTK today. Vaclavik said that the RFE could ask the Council of Radio and Television Broadcasting to be

granted a license as any radio station. This move, which is a technical matter, creates scope for the spread of Slovak Radio broadcast all over Slovakia, he added. "The decision should not be politicized," he added.

Slovakia "has the right to decide about broadcasts on its territory," Vaclavik said.

The decision by the Transport Ministry has been sharply criticized by all the Slovak opposition parties.

Bela Bugar, chairman of the ethnic Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH), called today the move another evidence of a lack of "diplomatic tact." The MKDH Deputy Chairman Pal Farkas called it "analogous with totalitarian manners."

Unions Call For Resignation of Radio Management

AU2812200993 Bratislava SME in Slovak 23 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by B. Koren: "Trade Unionists Demand Resignation of Radio Management"]

[Text] Bratislava—At a meeting of Slovak Radio employees yesterday, which was convened by the Trade Union organization, demands were raised for the resignation of Slovak Radio's management (Director V. Stefko, First Deputy Director E. Weidler, and Deputy Director M. Berko).

According to Bernardina Borsikova, chairman of the Mass Media Trade Union Primary Organization: "We cannot agree with the measures according to which another 400 people should be dismissed next year (cutting the personnel to approximately 900), since we do not know why." The demand for the management's resignation was addressed to the Radio Council (the Radio Council proposes the appointment or resignation of the Slovak Radio director—editorial note). According to the trade unionists, the current problems at Slovak Radio are not only caused by the lack of funds but also because the current management was "unable to draft a proper concept."

The chairman of the primary organization does not agree with the statement that the government and parliament are responsible for everything that is going on at Slovak Radio. "We can see that mistakes are not being corrected but accumulated," she said. The employees' social situation has become unacceptable for the trade unionists and there is no hope for its improvement. When asked whether the demand for the management's resignation is politically motivated, B. Borsikova said: "There is no political motivation at all."

One of the issues that the trade unionists want to solve as soon as possible is the operation of the Rock FM station, which should be run by Slovak Radio. The chairman of the primary organization stressed that the management has been unable to react to a number of principal problems, such as why the restrictions have not been applied to that station, why Rock FM is not paying its debt owed to Slovak Radio, why the employees of this shareholder company are paid several times better than employees of other radio stations, etc. The principal question is, however, whether it was correct to establish Rock FM within Slovak Radio. (Editorial note: On 21 December, E. Weidler, first deputy director of Slovak Radio, said to the SME editorial staff that Rock FM was not making a profit.... "It takes three years for a commercial radio to begin making a profit...." He also said that he personally was rejecting any financial links to that station.)

Ernest Weidler, first deputy director of Slovak Radio, offered his resignation yesterday. Slovak Radio Central Director Vladimir Stefko is entitled to dismiss the deputies, but he has not decided on the matter yet. When asked what his reaction was to the trade unions' call for the resignation of the entire management, V. Stefko said that it was not in the trade unionists' jurisdiction to dismiss the management. Rather, they should be interested in sorting out problems in their primary organization. He also said that many employees do not agree with the trade unions' demand. According to him, the Radio Council and parliament are entitled to dismiss the director.

Committee Criticizes Government Role in FNM

AU2812171593 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

["ip"-signed report: "Eroded Pillars of Industry; Changes in the Management Bodies of Large Companies in the Offing"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The opposition parties organized a news conference yesterday, at which their representatives conveyed their stand on the convening of extraordinary general meetings of shareholders in 21 large shareholding companies, in which the National Property Fund [FNM] holds a stake. These include, for example, Slovnaft Bratislava, Benzinol Bratislava, Nafta Gbely, Slovakofarma Hlohovec, Slovenska Poistovna [Slovak Insurance Company], Hirocem Rohoznik, Investicna a Rozvojova Banka [Investment and Development Bank], Vseobecna Uverova Banka [General Credit Bank], SNP [Slovak National Uprising Works] Ziar, VSZ [East Slovak Iron Works] Kosice, Hydrostav Bratislava, BAZ [Bratislava Automobile Works] Bratislava, TOS [Machine Tools Factory] Trencin, and OTF [Orava Television Factory] Nizna na Orave. In its letter to the boards of directors of the companies concerned, the FNM writes that the convening of general meetings had been decided by the FNM Presidium on 9 December 1993. Two items are being proposed for the agenda of the meetings: a change in the shareholding company's statutes and the recalling and election of members of the Supervisory Board and the Board of Directors. [passage omitted]

Yesterday morning, the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Privatization Committee adopted a rather comprehensive resolution, in which it calls on the chairman of the FNM Presidium and minister for the administration and privatization of national property to submit to it documents that would make it possible to assess the steps that have been undertaken. The committee initiates the adoption of a legislative amendment that would make the FNM Presidium and the FNM Supervisory Board answerable to the NRSR. At the same time, the legislative amendment should ensure that the minister of privatization and the minister of finance do not simultaneously hold the posts of chairman of the FNM Presidium and chairman of the FNM Supervisory Board, respectively. The present links between state power and the FNM are inappropriate because they undermine the FNM's independent status. There are other possibilities of influencing the FNM's economic policy and personnel links are not necessary. According to Deputy Plesnik, the Privatization Committee is of the opinion that the FNM Presidium and Supervisory Board ought to be reconstructed and reinforced by experts. Everything, however, should be done in harmony with the law.

Dismissals of Companies' Chief Executives Begin

AU2812171693 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Dec 93 p 12

["zpm"-signed report: "Beginning of a Black Series?; Management of the East Slovak Iron Works Kosice Recalled"]

[Text] Kosice—In the case of the East Slovak Iron Works [VSZ] a.s. Kosice, the apprehensions aroused by the letter of the National Property Fund [FNM] of the Slovak Republic requesting the convening of extraordinary general meetings of shareholders in 21 large shareholding companies, in which the FNM has an important percentage share, have proved justified.

The decision was made in Bratislava on Wednesday [22 December] to recall VSZ President Engineer Zoltan Berghauer and Vice Presidents Marian Sarissky, PhD, Engineer Dionyz Kunder, and Engineer Stanislav Polak. Only Engineer Ferdinand Petrak, vice president for finance, has kept his post for the time being. The Supervisory Board elected engineer Peter Hrinko, director general of the Cassovia-Invest a.s., president of the VSZ a.s. Jan Smerek, doctor of natural sciences, former director general of the VSZ Data Processing company; Engineer Alexander Rezes, director of the VSZ Human Resources Department; and V. Balanik, LLD, apparently a member of the FNM of the Slovak Republic, were elected vice presidents.

Kovac Urges New Solution to Minority Problems

AU2812202393 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 23 Dec 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "Under the Auspices of the President of the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] Bratislava—The third roundtable this year of the ethnic minorities, which was organized by the Chancellery of the President, was held at Bratislava Castle yesterday. The session was opened by Slovak President Michal Kovac, who summarized in his opening speech the efforts of the President's Chancellery to deal with the ethnic minority issue since May, when the first of these roundtables took place.

In addition to the representatives of the ethnic minorities, Slovak Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik and Education and Science Minister Jaroslav Paska also participated in the third roundtable. Representatives of other central, state, and social bodies and organizations of the Slovak Republic attended as well.

Slovak Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik spoke about the problems regarding the legal use of names and surnames, bilingual names of communities, and the constitutional arrangement of the Slovak Republic. The Csemadok [Hungarian cultural organization] representative said, among other things, that if it is not quite clear what exactly can be considered historical names of towns and villages, then the Hungarian minority believes that the names used at the time of the First Czechoslovak Republic should apply.

Appreciation for the work of the roundtables was expressed in the contributions of the ethnic minorities. Most of the participants of yesterday's session criticized the work of the Government Council for Ethnic Minorities which, according to them, has not fulfilled its role. The Bulgarian minority representative presented a very interesting idea. He defined his notion of an institutionalization of the rights of ethnic minorities in the form of a state board. This board, chaired by a state secretary, would only have a minimum number of employees. A council of delegates would then operate under this board, in which all minorities would be represented. Several participants of the roundtable endorsed this idea—Ruthenians and Croats, for instance.

The Croatian representative dissociated himself from the idea of ethnically pure or autonomous territories created on the ethnic principle. He appealed to those who, in the current political situation, condone coercion as a means of solving their problems. The representative of the Union of Romany Youth appealed to the Hungarian minority to hold a meeting next year between representatives of the Hungarian and Romany minorities. It would help, she said, to clarify their relations because numerous Romanies live in southern Slovakia and they want to remain citizens of the Slovak Republic.

The Romanies find it incredible that the Hungarians want to decide for them, the Union of Romany Youth representative said.

Once again, the third roundtable this year of the ethnic minorities, state institutions, and other organizations of the Slovak Republic with the Slovak president has confirmed that the solution to the problem of ethnic minorities requires more specific and effective mechanisms than the one that has been applied thus far, Slovak President Michal Kovac told correspondents following the roundtable at Bratislava Castle. This mechanism must have an institutional element; thus, he is going to submit a proposal to the government that a state body be established that would continuously deal with ethnic issues. The existing Government Council for Ethnic Minorities, he said, is not enough. The mechanism also requires a legislative framework in the form of an aggregate law on legal status of minorities or amendments to the existing laws. The participants of the third roundtable further agreed that a concept must be devised in cooperation with the ethnic minorities representatives. The framework of the mechanism must include specific programs based on the concept and legal status. Until this mechanism is established, the roundtable should monitor the progress of the ideas concerning the establishment of this mechanism. In this context, the president proposed that another meeting be held in three months.

HZDS Press Contests Roman Kovac Statement

AU2812154293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Dec 93 p 2

[Statement by Ivana Salczerova from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Press Department: "Denial"]

[Text] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Press Department considers it necessary to deny some statements made by [Deputy Prime Minister and chairman of the HZDS Council] Roman Kovac in his interview for the [20 December issue of the] daily NARODNA OBRODA. Regarding his possible candidacy for the post of minister of health, he said that he did not know the reasons for his rejection. In this context it needs to be said that proposed candidates for the post of minister of health had been considered at a meeting of the HZDS Political Board. The causes and objections to the person of Roman Kovac in connection with the possibility of him taking up that post were conveyed to him at that meeting, at which Roman Kovac was present.

[signed] Ivana Salczerova

SDL Not To Join Coalition Without New Vote

AU2812144793 Prague CTK in English 1246 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 28 (CTK)—Democratic Left Party (SDL) Vice-Chairman Dusan Dorotin said today he did not think chairman Peter Weiss' inadvertent vote for the 1994 state budget was grounds for removing him from office. Weiss, who had opposed the budget all along, nevertheless voted for its passage in parliament last week. He explained his vote as a mistake, saying he had been preoccupied with other thoughts and was not paying close enough attention.

On the crisis in the current government coalition, which still has failed to gain a lasting parliamentary majority, SDL Vice- Chairman Pavol Kanis said the party would only consider entering the government if new elections were held. The point is not to snatch for the SDL an election victory, but to solve the crisis in parliament, he said.

Kanis said the party's chief accomplishments for the year had been its second congress, its membership in the Socialist International, and its organization of a meeting of leftist parties of the Visegrad Four countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland).

Government 'Recommends' Cancellation of Rally

AU2812155593 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Dec 93 p 1

[TA SR report: "Session of the Slovak Government"]

[Text] Bratislava— At a brief unscheduled meeting held during a break in yesterday's session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in the chair, the Slovak Government approved the draft Customs Tariff List for 1994. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Julius Toth said that only minor changes have been adopted, compared with the Customs Tariff List for this year, which stem from newly concluded agreements between the Slovak Republic and the European Union. The government sought the greatest possible harmonization of the Customs Tariff List of the Slovak Republic with the analogous Czech list.

In the course of yesterday, government members were supposed to meet again in order to adopt a stand on the appeal by the Association of Zitny Ostrov [Rye Island, area along the Danube in southern Slovakia inhabited by ethnic Hungarians] Towns and Communities [ZMOZO] [calling for a meeting in Komarno on 8 January 1994 to establish self-rule in southern Slovakia and elect a 100-member assembly].

The Slovak Government statement on the ZMOZO appeal states that, in its policy statement, the Government of the Slovak Republic placed emphasis on reinforcing the self-administration of regions, towns, and communities, as well as citizens' associations. It has submitted to the NRSR the concept of organizing and executing public administration and a bill on changes in the organization of local self-administration, which provides for the horizontal integration of local state administration bodies. The Government of the Slovak Republic is of the opinion that the ZMOZO appeal goes

beyond the framework of ZMOZO's mission. The Government of the Slovak Republic is determined to secure the needs and demands of citizens, including minorities, in the spirit of international documents. It therefore recommends not to realize the planned assembly.

Unemployment Rate Climbs to 14 Percent

AU2812145093 Prague CTK in English 0904 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 28 (CTK)—The rate of unemployment in Slovakia has risen from 12.5 percent in June to 14 percent today, according to a statistical update from the Slovak Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and the Family. Although the growth has not been dramatic, its steadiness is annoying, the Slovak independent daily NARODNA OBRODA writes today. Only five districts of the total of 38 recorded a fall in the rate of unemployment. While there were "only" 29 applicants for each job vacancy at the end of June, there were a record 43 in November.

Cuts aimed at improving efficiency are particularly blamed for the situation, where unemployment is rising at a monthly rate of 6,000 persons, bringing the November total to 356,000. Slovakia now has 9 regions with unemployment in excess of 20 percent, a figure which Western experts say is the threshold of social unrest. The 1994 budget has forecast 17 percent unemployment, but at the current rate of growth, this mark will already be passed in August, NARODNA OBRODA writes.

Martin Tank Factory To Be Privatized

AU2812171093 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 27 Dec 93 p 2

["st"-signed report: "Ice Has Moved"]

[Text] Martin—The constituent general assembly of the Turcianske Strojarne [Turcianske Engineering Works] a.s. [shareholding company], set up to privatize the ZTS [Heavy Engineering Works] Martin state enterprise, was held last Monday [20 December]. It approved a five-member Board of Directors, a Supervisory Board, and the company's statutes. Jan Segla, formerly director of ZTS Martin, became chairman of the a.s. and Jan Hrivnak, director of the "Vehicles" Division, became chairman of the Supervisory Board. The a.s. intends to purchase the state enterprise through a direct sale. The privatization project foresees that, effective from the day of the purchase, the present "Vehicles" Division ought to be transformed into a subsidiary with state participation involved in special production.

Mail Addressed in Hungarian To Be Returned

AU2812171293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Dec 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Problems With Hungarian Names"]

[Text] Bratislava—Some Slovak Republic citizens of Hungarian nationality deliberately write the names of communities in Hungarian in the address portion of domestic items, thereby causing growing problems to the Slovak Post Office, says a statement by the Ministry of Transportation, Communications, and Public Works, which was made available to the TA SR by Ivan Vaclavik, the ministry's spokesman. In accordance with valid regulations and the law on the state and official language, the Slovak Post Office is only obliged to deliver items addressed to the official name of the community. Items addressed in a different way will be returned to the sender, provided that the sender correctly indicates the return address. Otherwise, they will be sent to the Post Office depository at Trnava.

Boross Stresses Political 'Debt' to Antall

AU2812214593 Budapest MTI in English 2108 GMT 28 Dec 93

Budapest, December 28 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Peter Boross discussed his government's principles and stand towards the inheritence of the late Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, and problems marking Hungary's transformation, in a Tuesday evening [28 December] interview on Hungarian Television.

Boross again stressed his political debt to Jozsef Antall, and the need for continuity in government. He firmly denied claims that extreme right-wing political groups had advanced with his election. He again said he was not, politically, to the right of Antall, but behind him. "I am not a right-wing politician, but do stand to the right of the left-wing, as I see it" he said.

Boross stressed practicality, rationality, sobriety, and expediency in his style of governing. He saw Christian European values as another guiding principle.

The prime minister discussed the difficulties of socio-economic, and property ownership changes which, he said, were aggravated by an economic recession covering almost all Europe. He stressed the need for economic integration with Europe. "A vital issue for Hungary is whether it joins the European Union or whether it remains a country on Europe's periphery for a further period of history," he said.

Boross said parties that took on obligations of government are, in general, not in a favourable position today. "The Hungarian Democratic Forum and its coalition partners accepted this four-year period, and have seen it through, the only government to do so from among countries in a similar situation. Hungary has peace and order. We accept responsibility for what we did, and face the voters in 1994. I hope most of the country will recognize that the three and a half years which passed under Prime Minister Jozsef Antall carries the promise of the future in itself," the prime minister said.

Interest in Russian Air Defense System Noted

AU2812154693 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Dec 93 p 1

[Correspondent's report: "Will Moscow Pay With Air Defense Missiles?"]

[Text] In connection with the news that Russia might be willing to deliver Sz-300 air defense systems to Hungary in exchange for the remaining part of the debt inherited from the Soviet Union, Lt. Colonel Lajos Erdelyi, spokesman for the Defense Ministry, gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG. He said that Hungary had shown an interest in this developed system when the talks on repaying the first part of the debts had begun. (These talks ended in the MiG- 29's being delivered—editor's note.) From a military point of view, the possibility might also be rather interesting now, however, the decision on the Hungarian stance on the repayment will be made by the government rather than the Defense Ministry, Erdelyi said.

According to our Moscow correspondent, the issue might be made topical by a possible change in the Russian point of view. Up to now, the Russian side has been reluctant to deliver these kinds of weapons as repayment of the debt—it rather asked for cash—and Defense Minister Lajos Fur was also shown the SU-27 fighter plane, which "creates aerial superiority." On the other hand, certain remarks indicated that the factory producing the Sz-300's is struggling with difficulties. This might encourage the Russian leadership to give the green light to weapons exports to repay debts to Hungary.

Government Resolution Recognizes Macedonia

LD2812204893 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1848 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 28 Dec—At its Tuesday meeting the Council of Ministers made amendments in the decree regulating working hours in enterprises. [passage omitted]

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on recognition of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by the Polish Republic. [passage omitted]

The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia proclaimed its independence on 17 September 1991. Its constitution is in accord with the requirements of European standards. This country, therefore, has met all the conditions to become a sovereign entity in international law. This was confirmed by the fact that the country was admitted to the United Nations, under a provisional name.

The Government of the Polish Republic believes that broad recognition of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia may contribute in a significant degree to the peaceful solution of the conflict which has been taking place on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Strict and exemplary observance by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia of principles contained in the UN Charter and the CSCE documents, including the principle of non-violation of borders, and principles connected with respect for human rights, should become a factor for easing tensions in this area of Europe.

Poland expresses its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and to develop extensive friendly cooperation with this country. [passage omitted]

Privatization Minister on Economy, Budget

WS2812123093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Interview with Ownership Transformations Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek by Krzysztof Skowronski at the Radio Zet studio in Warsaw on the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Skowronski] Radio Zet's guest today is Ownership Transformations Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek. Good morning to you.

[Kaczmarek] Good morning, Ladies and Gentlemen.

[Skowronski] Will privatization be different in 1994 from 1993?

[Kaczmarek] I think it will not be different, when you think about its fundamental principles.

[Skowronski] So you mean there will be no differences and the program outlined by [former] Minister Lewandowski will be continued?

[Kaczmarek] I have said on several occasions already that one cannot just implement many programs in any other way, but what we will do different is to stress different priorities, which means putting emphasis on different aspects of the programs of ownership transformations—that, by the way, was included on the list of primary privatization initiatives in 1994 adopted by the government yesterday.

[Skowronski] So what will be the difference with regard to priorities? What will you put particular emphasis on?

[Kaczmarek] First of all, I would like to stress the so-called restructuring activity—by the way, the government approved of the idea—or if you want to use another term, you could say a process of returning Polish companies to a state of economic health. Of course, I will try to make sure that we do not go to the other extreme here and replace the word privatization with the word restructuring, that we do not get terribly used to the mechanism of restructuring, and to make it function within a process where we first conduct a process of returning economic health to a company—that is the restructuring I mentioned—followed by the company's sale. I think it is the government's intention to also not be in the position of a monopolist or an almighty ruler, but rather to sell the national wealth gradually, while applying common sense, to private investors or to groups of such investors.

[Skowronski] What is the biggest disease that Polish companies are facing? What is it about?

[Kaczmarek] There is talk currently that a disastrous financial condition of Polish companies is one of their biggest diseases. I do not completely share the view presented in a commercial about the need for Polish firms to get involved in the National Investment Fund program due to bad management in those companies, and also due to many other reasons listed there. Once one has listened to the commercial for several days, I think one feels like committing suicide at times [words indistinct]....

[Skowronski, interrupting] [Words indistinct] suicidal thoughts, I hope.

[Kaczmarek] No, I am free of such thoughts, but to go back to the issue of the condition of Polish companies—I think their financial condition....[Kaczmarek changes thought] Although I think one has to admit that....[Kaczmarek changes thought] I mean, we often talk about their indebtedness but one should also deal with another issue here: To what extent is the indebtedness due to a freezing of money in the form of non-disposable products? I mean that is frozen money—the infamous reserves. And here....

[Skowronski, interrupting] [Words indistinct] the question, so what is the answer?

[Kaczmarek] I mean, I am not completely convinced that the government and the law in force up to now are to

blame for everything. The blame is also to be attributed to the fact that within many areas of their economic activity, Polish companies do not have enough of a driving force in the market, I think they also do not have the ability to make swift adjustments, such as switching to a product that would be acceptable on the market—I mean both the domestic and foreign markets.

[Skowronski] So what can the government do?

[Kaczmarek] On that issue, we wanted to initiate some programs I mentioned earlier that would be characterized by their trait of restructuring. We are eager to [word indistinct] National Investment Funds, to actively cooperate with the European Bank for Development [as published]. By the way, there is a draft over there that I think could be easily adapted to Polish realities and which was subject to intensive work for a long time—I mean the program under the banner of stabilization, restructuring, and privatization. I think programs like these have to be given priority consideration today. A second type of priority must be about capital privatization. In any case, there is a provision within the guidelines of privatization, which will impose an obligation upon the government to come up with principles of financing and restructuring of companies based on financial means derived from privatization. We had to deal with a protest, as it were, on the part of the finance minister, but I think this kind of work should finally be carried through so as to prevent the phenomenon of eating your own tail—I mean when one speaks about selling Polish companies—unless of course we make a decision to choose just one option; namely that privatization should only serve to finance the budget deficit. If that is the case, then the mechanism of using privatization also to strengthen the restructuring processes may prove unnecessary.

[Skowronski] Did the government adopt the main directions of privatization without protests? Was there an agreement among all the government's ministers on that?

[Kaczmarek] I think that...[Kaczmarek changes thought] I mean we did not have the luxury of not facing any protests at all. This is the kind of issue that...[Kaczmarek changes thought] I mean the word protest is perhaps too strong a term here, but there was a session of the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee, there was a conference aimed at agreeing different views, followed by a session of the Council of Ministers, and then at a second session of the Council...[Kaczmarek changes thought] I mean the first one was taking place quite late into the night, and I must admit frankly that it is hard to work efficiently after 12 hours of debate on the budget followed by a debate on the directions of privatization. So we made a provision by way of a safety valve to the effect that one could communicate remarks for several more days into the Christmas period. Several remarks were indeed made concerning the text as it was at the time, among them by the Industry and Trade Ministry, and we had another debate on the draft yesterday, and in actual terms, the main dispute that was going on concerned the area of a possible list of priorities, as well as of certain evaluations of the past, and also provisions relating, for instance, to a major problem within the area of ownership transformations, that is reprivatization.

[Skowronski] Will reprivatization be conducted next year?

[Kaczmarek] Yes, it will, except that....

[Skowronski, interrupting] What will it be about?

[Kaczmarek] We must adopt a specific formula I have in mind here. We must keep in mind all the time the condition of the state's public finances and so we must conduct the reprivatization in a way that would not disturb the delicate structure that is the fluidity of public finances. That will be the main criterion.

[Skowronski] So what will really be reprivatized? What would you like to have reprivatized?

[Kaczmarek] To answer your question thoroughly, one would have to....[Kaczmarek changes thought] If I were to reply on behalf of the government, I would have to do one more thing, namely present the government with a draft by Sejm deputies which was submitted before the Sejm during the week before Christmas. Then I will be able to answer the question with precision. What will be the government's position on the deputies' draft? It is also to some extent an open secret that the draft was prepared by a Reprivatization Council which is attached to the post of the ownership transformations minister. So I definitely think we will continue the debate.

[Skowronski] What will be the philosophy of reprivatization—to reprivatize as much as possible, or as little as possible? I mean to minimize or to maximize reprivatization?

[Kaczmarek] The philosophy will be that we intend to compensate those with regard to whom a bad law had been broken. There you have the principle that a bad law is still law. We will try to apply two methods: One of them will be about returning the property in question if everyone concerned agrees, and if they do not, then substitute property will be used, and as a last resort we will be using some procedures that are being planned currently—I mean securities that will make it possible to acquire state property within privatization measures. By the way, it is the case currently that to avoid unnecessary tensions during ownership transformations themselves, the amount of 5 percent of Treasury shares was reserved in all drafts—in accordance with a resolution by the Council of Ministers—for possible price increases during reprivatization. So these measures [word indistinct] conducted and they will be included in the law.

[Skowronski] How soon will reprivatization be over? Do we know that yet?

[Kaczmarek] I think our intention is to complete reprivatization as soon as possible. The law defines the

timeframe of the entire administrative procedure as one year since the date the law becomes effective. We are very eager to identify those cases which are subject to reprivatization and to finalize the process soon, since it makes other privatization measures very difficult.

[Skowronski] It is provided in the budget draft that privatization will bring revenue of 12.3 trillion zlotys. How does one calculate that? How do we know it will be 12.3 trillion and not 14 or 9 trillion?

[Kaczmarek] As with any other budget, this one is also a plan of revenue and expenditures, so it is a simulation of events that may happen in the future. That is why there are many misunderstandings when people say that there was an amount provided for in the budget and whatever happened to it now? Preparing a budget is about planning, and that is hard to do in the realities of transforming the Polish economy. We had no doubts about that when we were in the opposition earlier, nor do we have them now that we are in the governing coalition. So within that planning process, it was defined that revenue from privatization will be in the amount of 12.300 trillion zlotys which—one could say—is divided into four parts: 4.5 trillion will be from capital privatization, about 4 trillion will be from privatization of financial institutions and that figure will be listed in the finance minister's budget, while the rest—which will be a similar figure of about 4 trillion zlotys, that is a little less than that, below the figure of 4 trillion, that is a lot over 3 trillion—will be derived from so- called privatization obtained through legislative measures, from dividends from the leasing of state property.

[Skowronski] Do you already know the names of the companies that will be privatized next year?

[Kaczmarek] There would be a problem here, I mean a conflict with measures which were suggested for instance by the Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises which allows all state-owned companies—and especially representatives of their employees—to have the initiative in defining their own privatization procedures. That fact complicates any kind of strategic planning one would like to conduct. One could accuse the authors of the law of having failed to include company names. Now, why did I say the law? Directions of privatization this year will constitute an appendix to the Budget Law, which is slightly different than was the case in the previous years when [words indistinct]....

[Skowronski, interrupting] [Words indistinct] will change?

[Kaczmarek] That changes the level of responsibility, that does not [words indistinct]. It is part of the Budget Law. Now, once I write down a specific company name and fail to include another name, that would mean that to be able to make a decision on privatizing a company, I would have to initiate the procedure of amending the Budget Law.

[Skowronski] Which is something very complicated?

[Kaczmarek] Unfortunately it is. That is the reason specific names were not included, and neither were some ministries. Even though there is quite a big risk involved, I think it should take place nevertheless; namely we would still like to include that in our cooperation with parliament within the Sejm Ownership Transformations Commission and also perhaps within the Budget and Finance Commission, but the Ownership Transformations Commission will be given priority.

[Skowronski] So it is your calculation that the budget will be 12.3 trillion zlotys richer thanks to privatization, but it could as well be 9 trillion or 14 trillion—the figure is not predetermined yet?

[Kaczmarek, hesitating] One should [words indistinct] particularly since you are also perfectly aware that this year, I mean the budget year, was the first ever when the predicted figure was actually implemented with regard to revenue from capital privatization. I think the actual figure could actually exceed the prediction by a slight margin. So in the fourth year of operation of privatization drafts—practically speaking in the third year—counting I think from the very beginning of privatization in Poland, the predicted figure for revenue from capital privatization was correct in 99 percent of the cases of capital privatization drafts.

[Skowronski] So it is possible that the revenue will be 12.3 trillion zlotys.

[Kaczmarek] It is possible that will be more than that since....

[Skowronski, interrupting] How do we know about the 2 trillion zlotys more? How did that figure come about?

[Kaczmarek] It undoubtedly came about through calculating revenue from privatization of Bank Slaski, but let us remember that the sale price of those shares was initially planned to be 250,000 zlotys per share, then Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Borowski discontinued the auction and set the price at 500,000 zlotys, so even a simple calculation shows that revenue from selling Bank Slaski's shares was doubled and when you take a look at what is happening on the market, I still think the price was set too low, when you take a look at the level of investor interest and the amount of money involved, plus let us remember that the price was set artificially in the first place.

[Skowronski] So once 1995 begins, after the year of 1994 comprised 365 days, Poland will be more capitalist than it is today? Could one draw such a conclusion from our conversation?

[Kaczmarek] Yes, I think so. The only question is how many grand projects we will manage to carry through. We are also eager—and I am convinced of that—to see more so-called strategic investors in the Polish economy, particularly foreign strategic investors.

[Skowronski] Now a specific question: What should the government do about the barite mine [in Boguszow-Gorce near Walbrzych] and also about companies or mines whose situation is very similar?

[Kaczmarek] As far as that is concerned, I think there is a strike going on there, as far as I know, it is of a kind which is becoming a very intense kind of strike coupled with a hunger protest. I do not know whether mistakes had been made in the past under Industry Minister Niewiarowski, who could have failed to outline a strategy as to the fate of the mine. The mine is within the scope of duties of the industry and trade minister and for me to answer the question off the top of my head would be difficult, especially since my knowledge on the issue is quite modest. From what I have been reading in the press, the main complaint of the people working there is that they had been treated as a piece of equipment of the mine, so to speak, and that no plans had been outlined for the mine's future, and I think everyone is ready to approve of a decision to close the mine, but they want to know why it must be done in the first place.

[Skowronski] Thank you very much for the conversation. Radio Zet's guest today was Ownership Transformations Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek.

[Kaczmarek] Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Borowski: Budget Within 'Limits of Possibility'

LD2812201393 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 28—The governments draft budget, formally approved by the cabinet on Monday evening after a heated debate during the week before Christmas, had been kept within the limits of possibility, Finance Minister Marek Borowski said on Tuesday.

Borowski, who had faced pressure from other cabinet members to allow for a significant increase in the planned deficit, said that budget expenditures planned for 1994 did not violate the principle of the proportions of needs. He noted that expenditure in the public sector would be kept at the same real level as in 1993.

Other priorities in the budget are to maintain orders for the Polish arms industry, finance to liquidate uneconomic mines (including retraining and job-creation costs for redundant miners), support for export-oriented production, and the extension of preferential credits for agriculture.

Borowski stressed that he did not believe devaluation to be suitable as a means of promoting Polish exports, and called for a strengthening of existing export guarantee organisations, such as the Corporation for Export Credit Insurance (KUKE). He noted that the budget envisaged a doubling of funds to promote exports.

At the same press conference, Industry Minister Marek Pol said that the number of uneconomic mines threatened with imminent closure had been reduced from over a dozen, to 7-8 pits.

Under the finalised budget proposals, 14 trillion zlotys (700 million dollars) are to be allocated to the agricultural sector - an increase of 2 trillion zlotys over the original proposals, but still 2 tr. zlotys light of the amounts demanded by agricultural organisations and the main council of the ruling Polish Peasants Party. Ryszard Smolarek, secretary of state at the Agriculture Ministry, said on Tuesday that half of the increased allocation (1 tr. zlotys) would be directed towards an increase in surcharges for agricultural credits - set for 1994 at 2.5 tr. zlotys, compared with 1.5 tr. zlotys in 1993.

Smolarek also noted that finance for the activities of the Agricultural Market Agency (ARR) would be increased by 790 billion zlotys over 1993 levels (to 2.7 tr. zlotys). The Agricultural Property Agency of the State Treasury is to be allocated a further 150 billion zlotys to finance old-age and disability pensions. The balance of the planned increase (60 bn. zlotys) is to be allocated for agricultural schools.

Smolarek said that these were preliminary figures only, and that work was continuing in the Agriculture Ministry relating to the 1994 budget.

Internal Affairs Minister on Job, Secret Files

WS2912110093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Dec 93 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Polish Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski by Jan Ordynski; place and date not given: "I Am Purely Apolitical"]

[Text] [Ordynski] The governing coalition was not convinced from the very beginning that you should continue your ministerial mission, and it agreed after some opposition to the president having the final say on the issue. So keeping that in mind, how do you feel in the new government?

[Milczanowski] The usual way. I can see no difference between my work now and under Prime Minister Suchocka.

[Ordynski] But I think that you had more room to maneuver under the previous prime minister since you could, for instance, select some types of associates according to your own judgment, whereas right now the coalition seems to be suggesting that they will send their own men to take the post of deputy ministers in the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW], the Defense Ministry [MON], as well as the Foreign Ministry [MSZ].

[Milczanowski] I think it is too soon for me to speak out on this issue.

[Ordynski] But what if the prime minister goes ahead and makes the appointments? Your appointment as secretary of state a year and a half ago was not made on the motion of a minister, either.

[Milczanowski] We shall see as time goes by.

[Ordynski] You are avoiding a reply, so let us change the subject. You—as well as the entire ministry—are the most widely attacked minister. Some right-wing politicians have even accused you of outright muzzling intentions—that was when Instruction 0015/92 was revealed—while some of the more hot- headed ones have predicted the return of a police state. Franciszek Szlachcic wrote in his memoirs: "I hope Mr. Krzysztof Kozlowski does well but I know the way it works—he will only be dealing with security after six months, he will be looking to see who said something bad about Walesa or who made an attack against the prime minister." Have you already reached that stage?

[Milczanowski] No, and I have no intention of ever reaching it. Fears of illegal measures undertaken by MSW services are irrational. We do nothing illegal.

[Ordynski] So how do the public attacks come about?

[Milczanowski] The issue is complicated. Let us begin by saying that our work is an attractive area for journalists and that is also a reason it receives so much attention from the mass media. A second issue is that historical legacy causes overreaction in evaluating events, for instance when it comes to what happened during a demonstration on 4 June, or when it comes to the ill-fated instruction you mentioned. I admit that the instruction was quite unnecessarily written in an operational language. But it was enough to carefully read it to see that there is nothing in it that could raise concern or that could endanger the democratic order or human rights. It is obvious that those agencies comprising the Office of State Protection [UOP], which use public material in the course of their work, must use expert assistance, but that has nothing to do with work by agents. That is precisely what the instruction deals with, and nothing else. The Analysis and Information Bureau has never been, is not, and will never be an operational unit.

[Ordynski] What about problems associated with the law on state secrets?

[Milczanowski] Few people know that the draft—which was prepared by three subsequent governments—while being inspired by analogous provisions in force in Western democracies, is at the same time less strict than those Western provisions. I can almost hear the public outcry we would have if we were to adopt to a large extent the procedures in force in Great Britain. This is precisely an example of our oversensitivity and our moving from one extreme to the other. Some people lack moderation and good-tempered nature in the course of assessments they make, they are primarily guided by first impressions.

[Ordynski] Is not all that also a result of bad preparation of documents and of decisions which, after all, touch upon thorny issues? Is it not a consequence of an inappropriate manner of conveying information to the public?

[Milczanowski] Are you talking about thorny issues from the standpoint of society or from the standpoint of journalists?

[Ordynski] Journalists try to play the role of indicators of the state of public opinion. We have to keep in mind that those publications which approved of your appointment back in June of 1992, those same publications are now very critical of the way the cases of Hodysz, Konieczny, and those mentioned earlier were handled. So there must be something substantive involved here.

[Milczanowski] It is almost impossible to avoid mistakes and slips of the tongue in these complicated times in which we live. I am not trying to come up with an excuse for myself. But please note the fact that on the one hand—as you yourself said—we get sharply criticized, but on the other hand the situation we have to work in is very difficult.

[Ordynski] Perhaps your controversial style is also a factor here?

[Milczanowski] I cannot complain about journalists being too nice to me and they are probably not the only ones to blame.

[Ordynski] You were once described this way: "He is independent from political parties but not from what the Belvedere wants." Is that true?

[Milczanowski] I do not hide the fact—and I publicly stated it—that to me, President Walesa is one of the important factors of stabilization when it comes to the situation in the country. That does not mean that I am a puppet of the Belvedere. I deny the accusations that President Walesa has been pressuring me.

[Ordynski] This is not just about the president....

[Milczanowski] If one were to sum up all suggestions expressed by the president during the year and a half that I have been in office, I can assure you that there were few of them, many times fewer than those by prime ministers.

[Ordynski] Suggestions by prime ministers are no wonder since you a member of the government.

[Milczanowski] First of all, I said suggestions. Second, I would like to remind you of the constitutional provision concerning the president's responsibility for the country's security and for providing his opinion on candidates for chief of MSW.

[Ordynski] Indeed, the president's suggestions do have legal basis, but when you take for instance the case of Major Hodysz, what happened was that you vigorously

denied that Lech Walesa had intervened and then he himself admitted having intervened.

[Milczanowski] I made it clear during a news conference that there were some suggestions coming from the president, but the final decision was a sovereign one made by the UOP chief with my approval.

[Ordynski] Is it a usual procedure to have the head of state intervene in personnel decisions concerning one of the 14 UOP branches?

[Milczanowski] Let us examine the issue without prejudice. Let us keep in mind the president's links with Gdansk. Aside from that, if he has a view on someone's performance, why would he not be allowed to share it with the appropriate minister? Various prime ministers used to intervene in more detailed issues in the past.

[Ordynski] One cannot ignore the historical circumstances surrounding the Hodysz case.

[Milczanowski] But that happens to contradict your argument that the president chose a common problem with which to deal.

[Ordynski] Let us leave Hodysz alone and let us continue talking about UOP. You suggested many times in the past that the UOP should be separated from MSW structures while hoping that the new, united parliament would be helpful in that regard. Do you uphold your suggestions?

[Milczanowski] I came to the conclusion in the fall of last year that both UOP and the Intelligence Office should be separated from MSW. I am not abandoning the idea now, but the fact remains that the political situation is currently quite difficult. It is still a live issue as to whom these services should be subordinated so as not to disturb the balance of executive power in the country.

[Ordynski] There are many foreign examples and we do not have to rediscover America.

[Milczanowski] Yes, but the point is that we must not allow a crisis to break out right now among the supreme authorities. I found a compromise solution and I suggested a modification of the Law on UOP: The prime minister would appoint the UOP chief after having consulted with the president.

[Ordynski] Would the consultation be binding on the prime minister?

[Milczanowski] It would be the same case as what the Small Constitution provides when it speaks of the three ministers mentioned before (MSZ, MON, MSW).

[Ordynski] Perhaps it would be better to wait until a new constitution is enacted, as Justice Minister Cimoszewicz has been suggesting in connection with the issue of positioning the Public Prosecutors' Office?

[Milczanowski] I am pragmatic and so I think that for the time being it would be enough to enact the amendment I talked about a moment ago.

[Ordynski] Parliamentary supervision over special services is another issue.

[Milczanowski] I am in favor.

[Ordynski] I know, but nothing is getting done in that regard.

[Milczanowski] It is not up to me. The government or Sejm deputies must move for legislative proceedings. A commission that would be created should be composed of a few members, with its supervision powers covering the special services' budget, personnel issues, and periodic evaluations. But I cannot imagine the commission's access to individual human sources of information.

[Ordynski] Some politicians keep coming back to the issue of files by secret informers under former regimes.

[Milczanowski] The issue is irrelevant to me. Nobody will ever get any file from me as long as I am internal affairs minister.

[Ordynski] Jerzy Giedroyc thinks that all the files should just be burned or sealed in concrete for many years.

[Milczanowski] He could be right. I will not open up the archives and if they tell me to, I will resign.

[Ordynski] Why are you so stubborn?

[Milczanowski] One of the reasons is that the documents are very incomplete, and in a selective kind of way, too. Oftentimes—which I could find out personally—they are not credible or they are stretched to fit the situation. Also, revealing these documents to the public would have a disastrous impact on citizen cooperation with all kinds of police services, not just with UOP. What kind of guarantees would citizens have that the future government teams will not conduct their own file checking?

[Ordynski] People who oppose your reasoning say that the issue also affects state security. In their view, former secret collaborators are simply vulnerable to blackmail.

[Milczanowski] That is an overreaction, and besides, we are ready for that scenario. Information which I receive does not suggest at all that foreign intelligence services should be trying to recruit precisely those people.

[Ordynski] Are other people more vulnerable during these difficult times?

[Milczanowski] What is happening is typical for a period of transformation. An excessive openness and a decreased discipline can be seen practically in all walks of life, and that has a negative impact on the country's security. One could cite many examples of, for instance, revealing secret documents or of publicly discussing which companies are targeted for privatization.

[Ordynski] There is another charge that has been levied against you; namely that you have been promoting old personnel arrangements and that you have been selecting officials of the old MSW as your associates. [Former chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers] Jan Maria Rokita even called the appointment of Colonel Czempinski a "slap in the face" to young people who joined UOP after 1990.

[Milczanowski] I would like to avoid any kind of argument with Jan Maria Rokita and it is not because I should fear something. But I do think that he and I think along completely different lines. I deny the accusation you just cited here. I could give you many examples of young people whom I have promoted in UOP. Above all, I am in favor of the principle of rationalism. My view is that the post of the chief of the office can be performed by a politician, but the posts of directors of intelligence or counterintelligence should be performed by experts only.

[Ordynski] But Czempinski is not a politician.

[Milczanowski] I said it is possible for a politician to take up the post of UOP chief, but it does not have to be the best possible solution. Colonel Czempinski's candidacy was my initiative. I simply think that the entire MSW should be completely above politics.

[Ordynski] That is not the case around the world.

[Milczanowski] Yes, it is a different case in Western democracies, but the situation in these countries is different as well. In the current situation in Poland, both MSW and MON should be made completely apolitical so as to deprive the political winners of any temptation to treat the ministries instrumentally.

[Ordynski] So you are sterilely apolitical?

[Milczanowski] Yes, I am sterilely apolitical. I am indifferent to all political parties. I have no political likes or dislikes whatsoever.

[Ordynski] I do not believe you.

[Milczanowski] I assure you it is indeed the truth. But to go back to the case of Col. Czempinski, he is an experienced and intelligent officer. He has already achieved success in UOP. He had not performed any high-ranking management functions before 1990. I think that to appoint a very competent professional as UOP's chief was the right decision to make. I have the same view of Col. Henryk Jasik, who on my motion was appointed deputy minister. Both of them have displayed their absolute loyalty to the state after 1990, and they have also done some very hard work which brought excellent results.

[Ordynski] Two more issues. The first one is the future of the recently rejected law on "key witness" [swiadek koronny].

[Milczanowski] It is my view that we need the institution of the key witness, but most of the Sejm deputies think otherwise. So one must convince them by using detailed arguments, by showing for instance the damage which will result from not having the law. Either we will handle organized crime, or it will handle us.

[Ordynski] And one last issue: What is the biggest problem facing the MSW?

[Milczanowski] It is the future budget. There were 128,000 militiamen in 1988 and 25,000 Security Service officials. In 1992, we had 105,000 policemen and this year's budget decreased this number to 97,014. At the same time, crime rates rose by 65 percent since 1988 and new types of criminal activity have emerged. Many experienced employees have retired. So my main concern is to reinstate the figure of 105,000 policemen since our ratio of policemen per 100,000 inhabitants is the lowest in Europe. That is an emergency situation. But unfortunately, I can see my chances for implementing my intentions are small.

Minister Urges 'Unequivocal' Stance on Zhirinovskiy

AU2912121693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] The news conference held today by Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu concluded half an hour ago. Mr. Melescanu termed 1993 a fruitful year for Romanian diplomacy and emphasized the importance of foreign policy continuity, particularly for a country in transition, which must send coherent signals abroad.

The foreign minister referred to actions that he called spectacular, particularly in achieving the targets for Romania's integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures. He said that next year will be difficult, in view of the need to practically implement our country's integration in the European structures, which remains the main target of Romania's foreign policy. Another goal is to make a greater contribution to security in our region and to the revival of ties with the neighboring countries.

According to our reporter, Doina Saiciuc, at the end of his news conference, Mr. Teodor Melescanu referred to the statements made by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, in Sofia. As is known, the ambassador of the Russian Federation was called to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with those statements. The Romanian foreign minister said that an unequivocal stance should be adopted vis-a-vis such statements.

'Italian Gypsies' Statement Protested

AU2912121593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] At the end of today's Senate meeting, the last one before the parliamentary vacation, Senate President Mr. Oliviu Gherman briefly made a balance-sheet of the legislative activity of this chamber in 1993.

Our correspondent Marin Preda informs us that, before the opening of Senate discussions on the various points of the agenda, several senators vehemently protested against the statements made in Sofia by the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, according to whom Romania is an artificial state created by Italian Gypsies who stole territories from Russia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. The senators asked that a firm stance should be adopted vis-a-vis such statements.

Eastern Europe Must Join NATO 'Together'

AU2812170693 Paris AFP in English 1646 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 28 (AFP)—Romanian President Ion Iliescu warned Tuesday [28 December] that all Eastern European counties should join NATO together and that Russia needed to stem its ultra-nationalist tide to alleviate concerns over the continent's stability.

Evoking the January 10 and 11 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation summit in Brussels, Iliescu warned against granting preferential NATO membership to a select first wave of ex-commmunist countries, notably Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

"Such a position would not be favourable to either the region's or Europe's stability," he told AFP in an interview. "Discrimination should not be encouraged."

On the shock success in the December 12 Russian elections of the ultra-nationalists under Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Iliescu expressed hopes that "Russia's democratic forces are capable of consolidating their positions and limiting the influence of the ultra-nationalists."

Such a consolidation was in Russia's and Europe's best interests, he added.

Iliescu added that he was "not surprised" by the wave of anti-Russian feeling in Romania following the December 9 death sentence passed on a Romanian-speaking Moldovan nationalist by ethnic Russian authorities in Dniestr, eastern Moldova.

Ilie Ilascu was sentenced to death for his role in Russian-Romanian violence in Dniestr, a self-proclaimed "republic" supported by the presence of Russian troops there which Bucharest has condemned as illegal.

The former Romanian province of Moldova was annexed by the then Soviet Union in 1939.

Both the presence of Russian forces in Dniestr and the "caricature" of Ilascu's trial represented for Romanians "the expression of the aggressive forces nostalgic for the era of Russian imperialism," the president added.

Iliescu said he hoped Ilascu would be handed over to Moldovan authorities by the end of the year.

On the home front Iliescu said he was anxious to conclude a multi-party pact on which he had begun consulting with opposition forces Monday [27 December].

The pact was intended to establish "a minimum level of cooperation between all parties"—including the unions that have repeatedly called on the government to resign—on economic, political and social issues.

The president said it was possible Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, whose minority government narrowly survived a no- confidence motion in mid-December, would stand down in the coming months.

Vacaroiu, whose administration is dependent on the support of nationalists whom opposition forces have denounced as extremists, "was aware his mission covered a limited time-frame" when he accepted the premiership, Iliescu added. Iliescu, who has been head of state since the Romanian revolution of December 1989, said he did not regret the executions on December 25 of that year of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu.

The shooting of the late dictator and his wife had been "a political act imposed by circumstances," Iliescu said, although "from a moral point of view" he would have preferred that the couple had not been "liquidated."

Evoking a visit to Paris scheduled for April, Iliescu said Romania's relations with France were "a priority" and that he hoped to strengthen economic links between the two countries.

Output Up 4 Percent; Unemployment 9.9 Percent

AU2812155293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1005 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/12/1993—Romania's industrial production over the first 11 months of the year 1993 is 4 percent higher than over the same period of the previous year. November's production was 2.3 percent up from the previous month, as it appears from the data furnished by the National Committee for Statistics on 27 December.

Preliminary statistics indicate that the 1993 agricultural production was higher that in 1992, both for grain and vegetable crops, and for animal produce.

The balance of the Romanian foreign trade has not surmounted the deficit.

Retail sales have dropped below 1992 levels.

Unemployment and the 9.9 percent unemployment rate as at 20 December 1993, were up from the previous month, recording the highest rate of all the year.

Vacaroiu on 'Slight But Real' Economic Growth

AU2812132893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1150 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/12/1993—"1994 will be the year of a slight but real economic growth," Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu told the government's newspaper VOCEA ROMANIEI on 28 December. In his opinion, 1993 "will remain in the history of this country as the year when we have managed, for the first time, to stop the decline of physical production. A year of accomplishments and a year of failures. Because we have not managed to reach that phase of macroeconomic stability we had proposed, that is to lower inflation and ensure better welfare." The prognosticated economic growth in 1994 will permit "better social welfare measures," the premier said. Estimations predict a 2 to 4 percent growth.

Mr. Vacaroiu announced tough financial, banking, monetary and price measures in the first three months of 1994, in a solid package pursuing to enhance macroeconomic stability. They will determine a sensible deceleration of inflation, diminished interest rates, the introduction of new mechanisms to make the banking system more operational, the growth of budget revenues. Concomitantly the government will pursue, the prime minister said, to accelerate and complete the privatisation process and the restructuring of the economic system as the only way apt to motivate work and lead to that spectacular leap forward of physical production. If everything goes as planned, living standards in 1994 might foreseeably rise by 15 to 20 percent.

With a special stress on the necessity of economic relaunch, mainly in industry, for the reclaiming of lost markets, Premier Vacaroiu said November 1993 was practically the fourth month in a row when exports exceeded $450 million. If export dynamics keeps constant in the region of $500 million (monthly), at an annual export volume of $600 billion Romania will afford imports in the worth of $4.5 billion.

Asked about the prospects of a cabinet reshuffle, Premier Vacaroiu said: "What matters is that a ruling formula is found capable to ensure progress, not regress. Which does not mean that I am ready to accept anything that comes. If a good solution is found, for premiership included, I shall have no objection. It was not for a premier's seat that last November I accepted to take the reins. Whatever the formula opted for, it is fundamental that the new team undertakes to apply the packet of measures agreed upon with the International Monetary Fund for Romania's macroeconomic stability."

Karadzic on 'Completely Fresh Approach' in Talks

LD2812225993 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] On the subject of Bosnia-Herzegovina, here is what Radovan Karadzic told Novi Sad Radio today in connection with the continuation of the Geneva talks:

[Begin Karadzic recording] If the Muslims had accepted the Geneva peace plan, they would already have borders and their army behind these borders, and the war would no longer be raging.

However, additional pressure was exerted on us, but we cannot make further concessions without the consent of the assembly. That is, the assembly is authorized to review all this and, after consulting us, to reach a final decision. I believe that the assembly will decide to adopt a completely fresh approach to the negotiations—that no new demands can be made regarding concessions and territorial percentages, that it would perhaps be better to start off from the actual situation and then enable the Croats and Muslims to have their own republics, but certainly not to the detriment of the Serb people and traditionally Serb territories that have exclusively belonged to the Serbs over the centuries. [end recording]

Mladic Comments on Fighting, Current Situation

AU2812170893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1541 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Interview with General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serbian army in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Milos Rajkovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rajkovic] Our guest on today's program is General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb republic army. General, welcome to the "Argument More" program of Radio Belgrade's 1st channel.

[Mladic] Thank you.

[Rajkovic] Let me say to start with, and our listeners can hear you, I can see that you are in a good mood and healthy. So what is true about recent rumors—I think there has been a lot of manipulation—about you being wounded?

[Mladic] None of this is true. It is just ustasha wishful thinking that such a fate should befall me; they simply do not have a chance to do that. [passage indistinct]

[Rajkovic] What is the current situation like? It is particularly fierce in central Bosnia, where the Croats and Muslims are engaged in fighting. How do you assess their forces? Are the Croats getting help from former Croatia?

[Mladic] The situation is still very complex on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina for several reasons. First because of the very brutal war between these erstwhile allies and signatories to the joint declaration of war on the Serbian people, even Serbia and Montenegro and the former Yugoslav People's Army. Then because of the internal clashes between the Muslims not only in western Bosnia but also in Sarajevo and other parts. And because of the involvement of the Croatian Army on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unfortunately the fighting continues, and I sincerely hope that all the sides in the war will accept—as they should—the initiative of the Serbian side to solve any further disputes in a peaceful way.

[Rajkovic] Can we have your assessment of the strength of their forces in central Bosnia?

[Mladic] The war between the Croats and the Muslims is being waged across a wide front. It is a very intense war from Mostar, and particularly around Vitez, where the Croats are encircled, then in the region of Busovaca, Gornji Vakuf, Fojnica, Kiseljak, near Vares, near Zepce, and so on. We have to understand one thing: First, I believe that individuals and representatives, particularly from the Muslim side, are insincere in their approach to all these peace agreements and negotiations, since at the moment the Muslim people and their forces are in 12 enclaves on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina: From Cazin—that is, from [Velika] Kladusa via Cazin—Mostar, Konjic, Jablanica, central Bosnia—that is conditionally speaking of this narrow band of territory that they control in the Zenica-Tuzla region—then Tesanj, Maglaj, Orasje, Sarajevo, Zepa, Srebrenica, and Gorazde. The Croatian people and army, both in former Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, are also in enclaves, 13 of them. The largest one is the Zagreb enclave, which has connections with the Germanic world through Hungary; the part with the islands and Dalmatia, and western Herzegovina, which has contacts with the international community through its access to the sea, and these two parts are intensively arming themselves, despite the embargo. [passage omitted]

[Rajkovic] We have already mentioned the latest Geneva talks. As we said, the peace agreement is not being observed. The talks are supposed to resume on 15 January. However, the behavior by the Muslims in all this is interesting. As I remember, at one time they were demanding 26 percent of the territory. They are now being given 33 percent but are refusing it and are demanding new concessions all the time. At the same, their leaders have started increasingly frequently to say that they can fight forever, that they have nothing to lose, and that the Serbs and the Croats have something to lose. How should this be interpreted? What should one expect from the continuation of negotiations?

[Mladic] First of all, I personally think that the Muslim political leadership—if one can call it that, since I do not see any unity in the conduct of their policy because of the rifts—I think that there are some healthy forces among the Muslim people, and Mr. Abdic and people supporting him are proof, as are some initiatives and currents, despite the fact that they are being obstructed by Alija Izetbegovic in his cruel showdown with his own

people in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, I think that there are people who think rationally, people who realize that this is leading to a total disaster.

However, Alija Izetbegovic is so drenched in blood that [passage indistinct]. However, we are trying to enable them to have a honorable way out of all this, despite the fact that they entered and started a showdown with the Serbian people in a less than honorable way, shamelessly, and without any dignity as puppets of Tudjman's policy aimed at creating a greater Croatia. Tudjman, and all rational people, if such people exist in the leadership that is now protecting the so-called interests of the Croatian people, should be clear that there is nothing but a great dream of a great Croatian state. They now fully understand that it is only a question [words indistinct] some Islamic republic, or some Ataturk kind of idea of turning Bosnia into an Islamic country, because I think that Europe and the world are perfectly clear as to what this would mean for the future of the generations that live in Europe and the world.

[Rajkovic] The behavior of the Muslims is strange considering that they have now achieved, that they have in fact been offered a third of Bosnia and form their own state. What is your army's reaction to the latest round of peace talks? How is the morale among the soldiers?

[Mladic] I will start with last part of the question. The army of the Serbian republic is fully aware of all these developments. We simply feel this on our own skin, from the president to the soldier in the front line, or vice versa. We know all this very well. However, we are also aware that our political leadership has been subjected to strong pressure by the international community. What we are unfortunately witnessing at the end of the 20th century is that an entire nation, even children who have not been born yet, even on the territories that have not taken part in any combat actions or have been any cause of the war, that they have been subjected to horrible sanctions, unjust sanctions. It is unprecedented that a nation is isolated to the extent that it cannot even import medicine, while the other parties to the conflict, or to be more specific, the Croatian and the Muslim sides, are being allowed to arm themselves, sometimes even via official international institutions. We cannot obtain medicine, while they can get ammunition and weapons, and [word indistinct]. These are the different topics and interests of the West and some powers in the West, not the entire West, but some powers in the West, and the Islamic bloc, and above all Germanic countries led by Germany, and some Islamic countries, to create a small state in Europe on which they could fully rely. They are mainly interested in the triangle in which the bulk of the military industry of the former Yugoslav People's Army was situated. Certain powers, which want to reshape the world, know why they want to come there. [passage omitted]

[Rajkovic] Let me ask you one more question, but please do not tell me straight away that this question should be addressed to politicians to answer, since you are primarily a soldier. I ask you this question as a commander of the army of the Serbian republic. What do you expect, do you expect an early end to the war? Of course, this is up to politicians to agree, this is why we have peace talks, but how do you see future (?developments)?

[Mladic] I must acknowledge what you said. This is something for the politicians to deal with. I think that the politicians will have the last word. As far as Serbian policy is concerned, it has been clear from the very beginning and was clear at the latest peace negotiations in Geneva. The Serbian initiative was that the war should be ended by peaceful means and that contentious issues be resolved at the negotiating table. We stand behind these decisions and we will support them. However, bearing in mind the actual situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, and the number of enclaves that exist, I think that it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of the intentions of the Muslims and others in taking any but the war option, because they came with the war and will stay as long as the war lasts.

I think that the initiatives, particularly those from the Croatian side, for the renewal of the coalition, are contributing to this. This is increasingly being promoted in central Bosnia. However, I do not think that this is realistic at the moment, regardless of the pressure, particularly from Germany and Turkey. Europe must after all face the fact that there are two options, either the Germanization or the Islamization of Europe. Unfortunately, I must conclude that Christian Europe does not see the danger of either Germanization or Islamization. This will cost Europe a lot if this evil of war is not stopped and if Tudjman and Alija are not forced to resolve problems peacefully that they have created themselves. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Cited on Role of Muslims' 'Mentors'

LD2812191293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1857 GMT 28 Dec 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Jagodina, December 28 (TANJUG)—War in Bosnia-Herzegovina will stop "when the decision on this is taken by the mentors of the Bosnian Moslems," said Tuesday Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) parliament.

In an interview to Jagodina radio, Krajisnik said almost all of Bosnia-Herzegovina was affected by fighting although the leaders of the warring sides—Serbs, Croats and Moslems—signed last week the Christmas ceasefire, which was to have come into force last Thursday at midnight and last until January 15.

Setting out that the Moslems have launched a general offensive, Krajisnik said the heaviest fighting was between the Croatian and Moslem forces around the Neretva river, southeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well

as between the Moslem and Serb forces on the Sarajevo battle front virtually along the entire line of separation.

Krajisnik supported his claim about a general offensive at the order of the west by an assessment that "they have never pursued independent policy."

Mostar War Presidency Appeals for Aid

LD2812220293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] The War Presidency of the Mostar Municipality has sent an appeal to the international and domestic public for urgent aid in food, medicine, and fuel. Not a single gram of food has entered this city with 55,000 inhabitants over the last 20 days. According to reports by international humanitarian organizations, a convoy was stopped in Buna five days ago and returned to Croatia on orders by [Croatian Foreign Minister] Mate Granic. This is yet more proof that Croatia is meddling into Bosnia-Herzegovina's internal affairs.

The situation is critical and alarming. Hunger has acquired mass proportions and bakeries are closed [words indistinct]. The hospitals have no medicines [words indistinct].

'Croatian Democratic Union' Adopts Declaration

LD2812171693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes in Siroki Brijeg]

[Excerpt] The Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina is urging that equal status be secured for the Croats as for other nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and for the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna within the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and an undivided city of Mostar as the capital of Herceg-Bosna. This is the opening sentence from the political declaration of the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted at a session of the central executive of the party that has just ended in Siroki Brijeg. Alongside urging the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna to be democratically organized and guaranteeing freedoms and rights of each citizen living in it, the declaration says that the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue investing efforts to stop the war, to protect the rights of Croatian people through political negotiations and to restore a fair peace.

The session, which was presided over by party chairman Mate Boban, also discussed negotiations on the set-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the current political and security situation. The Muslim side is continuously increasing its demands and insisting on unacceptable territorial demands for Neum and a wide sea-bound corridor, which is only one of the indications that the Muslim side has set its mind upon the war option, it was stressed in the discussion. The Croat side will continue to strive to make the maximum possible contribution to the search for a peaceful solution, not giving up its rights and interests, and at the same time be ready to defend itself from endeavors by other sides to realize their territorial pretensions with force. These were the most repeated sentences in the discussion today.

It was announced today that five civilians had been killed while two others had been wounded in the shelling of Citluk in the municipality of Travnik that took place yesterday afternoon. At the same time Muslim forces fired four artillery shells on Nova Bila. [passage omitted]

Fighting in Olovo, Zvornik Area Summarized

AU2812152893

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 28 December carries within its regular 30-minute newscast several reports on the combat situation in capital Sarajevo and the republic as a whole.

According to a correspondent from Olovo, "some 2,000 projectiles landed on the lines of defense and civilian settlements downstream from Olovo yesterday and overnight. A chetnik subversive group infiltrated into the region of Krusevo last night. This method, used by chetniks to cause fear among members of our army, completely failed. The chetnik (?terrorist) group was completely routed and eliminated in a swift and successful action. Our army did not suffer any casualties."

Zvornik correspondent Nijaz Brkic reports that "the civilian targets in Zaseok and (Nezouk) have been pounded by tanks and 82-mm and 120-mm mortars from (Klisovnice) and Potkovice since early this morning. The front lines of defense were attacked with antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns. On the Majevica front, the aggressor is attacking our positions in Skakovica with infantry and antiaircraft weapons. Chetniks were also seen regrouping their forces. Apart from material damage, there were no other consequences."

According to the studio announcer, "in the region of Gradacac, Gorazde, and in the zone of responsibility of the 3d Corps, the joint aggressors continued attacks on the defense lines and civilian areas.

"After, a relatively quiet morning on the Sarajevo battlefield, the chetnik artillery was activated at about the noon. Artillery projectiles again landed on Mijatovica Kosa and the Zuc region. Mortar bombs also landed on Stup and Dobrinja. The aggressor is carrying out attacks with infantry and antiaircraft weapons on almost all points of the defense lines."

The studio announcer ends his report by reminding citizens that the "general danger alarm is still in force in Sarajevo."

'Fierce Muslim Infighting' Reported in West

LD2812184393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Petrovac, Dec 28 (TANJUG)—Fierce Moslem in-fighting continues throughout western Bosnia-Herzegovina, the local Moslem media report on Tuesday. Forces loyal to Bosnian Moslem hardline leader Alija Izetbegovic have launched an offensive on the autonomous province of western Bosnia aiming to break through to the provincial centre of Velika Kladusa, said the Western Bosnian news agency ZBIA and the local radio in Velika Kladusa.

The attackers have been repelled in a powerful counter-offensive, which left many enemy soldiers dead, the same sources say and add that the only a few have been wounded in the western Bosnia forces.

The Moslem-controlled Bihac radio, on the other hand, reports that forces loyal to western Bosnia moderate Moslem leader Fikret Abdic are provoking the 5th Corps of Izetbegovic's army by opening fire from small arms and attempting to infiltrate terrorists behind the defence lines.

Western Bosnia has proclaimed autonomy in protest against Izetbegovic's war-mongering policy.

Army Destroys 11th Enemy Tank on Olovo Front

AU2812191893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Report by Amira Salihbasic from the Olovo Press Center]

[Text] The Serbo-Montenegrin army is trying for all its worth to enter the territory of free Olovo. The day has been marked with tank, mortar, howitzer, multiple rocket launcher, and infantry attacks targeting the defenders' positions between Krusevo and Kremeljaca.

In the late afternoon, the Serbo-chetnik army carried out a powerful tank and infantry attack, supported by [word indistinct] and bofors guns from the direction of Silajnica [words indistinct] again thwarted. The enemy has been deprived of yet another tank, the 11th, a T-55, which disappeared in flames along with its crew [words indistinct].

In the fierce clashes with the fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the aggressor had enormous personnel losses inflicted on him. Dozens of chetniks remained lying in front of the defense positions of our army.

After the 51-day long offensive, Olovo still represents the biggest (?headache) for the enemy. The successes of the Olovo defenders represent a motivation for new victories.

Serb Radios To Carry Joint Program

LD2412162493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Bijeljina, 23 December (TANJUG)—Radio studios in Sarajevo (Pale), Banja Luka, Knin [Croatia], and Bijeljina will start broadcasting joint programs as of 15 January, according to a schedule agreed by directors and editors-in-chief of the radio stations of the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serb Krajina, who met in Bijeljina today.

The joint program will be broadcast every day between 0800 GMT and 1300 GMT, and there will be a weekend night program on Fridays and Saturdays between 2300 GMT and 0500 GMT. Joint current affairs programs, to be broadcast at 1100 GMT and 1400 GMT, will be prepared in the Sarajevo (Pale) studio, while the 1800 GMT one will be prepared in the Bijeljina studio.

Technical cooperation and marketing of the four Serb studios will be agreed upon at the next meeting in Banja Luka.

Granic Demands UN Talks on Bosnia Safe Havens

LD2812184593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Within a diplomatic action of the Republic of Croatia aimed at halting the offensive of the Muslim units against Croat-populated areas in central Bosnia, Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister, has sent a letter to Chinese Ambassador Li Zhaoxing, UN Security Council [UNSC] chairman, the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Zagreb has announced.

In his letter, Minister Granic warns with concern that the offensive clearly shows that the Muslim leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina has set its mind on a war option which could cause a wider Muslim-Croat conflict with serious consequences. The Croatian government, Minister Granic says, is doing everything to find a peaceful and just solution, and to create a basis for durable cooperation between the two peoples and stability in that area.

We are calling on the chairman to convene an urgent session of the Security Council on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions defining encircled Croatian enclaves as safe havens.

Minister Granic also recalls humanitarian aid given to Bosnia-Herzegovina by Croatia, and warns that in the event the Muslim attacks on the Croats in central Bosnia continue, the Croatian Government may be forced to reexamine its policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Therefore, Minister Granic calls on the Security Council chairman to use his influence to persuade the Muslim leadership in Sarajevo to halt the offensive in central Bosnia immediately, and thus prevent a tragedy of wider proportions.

Susak Threatens Direct Involvement in Bosnia

LD2812203193 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Statement by Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak; place and date not given; from the "Croatia 93" current affairs program—live or recorded]

[Text] We used 1993, this situation of neither peace nor war, to reorganize and equip the Croatian Army so that if our supreme commander asked us today, we could completely fulfill his demands on the ground, in the air, and at sea.

As we organized and equipped the army of Croatia we never, for a moment, forgot the struggle and the rights of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and not only in Herceg-Bosna, I mean the republic of Herceg-Bosna. Croatia has helped them and it will do all it can to help them. If necessary, Croatia will go a step further. If the interests of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina are threatened to the extent that Muslim forces should capture their areas, as they are trying to do right now, Croatia will even become involved directly to protect its own interests and the interests of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Leaked Documents Implicate Deputy in War Crimes

AU2912073093 Paris AFP in English 0330 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 28 (AFP)—The Croatian Government has opened an inquiry into how Interior Ministry documents implicating a parliamentary deputy in war crimes in 1991 were leaked to the press. Croatian Interior Minister Ivan Jarnjak said Tuesday [28 December] that an inquiry was to be launched following publication of a report implicating Tomislav Mercep in the weekly paper GLOBUS. The paper published extracts of Interior Ministry documents, which it said were classified as "state secrets," alleging that about 20 executions were carried out in 1991 by a police squad led by Mercep. The article alleged that the killings took place in Pakracka Poljana, where investigators from the United Nations war crimes tribunal have discovered a charnel-house.

Jarnjak implied that the document was authentic, saying he did not know how it came to be leaked. "If it turns out the information came from someone in the Interior Ministry, I promise you he will be out of a job," he said, adding that an inquiry into the war crimes had already begun.

Babic's Party Wins Plurality in RSK Parliament

LD2812214293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Knin, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The name of the new president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] will be revealed only after the second round of elections because, even after the elections were repeated in six electoral units, no candidate won the necessary number of votes, Milos Vojinovic, the chairman of the republic's Electoral Commission, said this evening.

A total of 232,951 of the 298,066 registered citizens, or 78 percent, voted at the elections on 12th and 26th December. Of these, 114,767 voters or 49.27 percent of the electorate voted for Milan Babic, the presidential candidate of the Serb Democratic Party of Krajina [SDS], while 60,383, or 25.92 percent, voted for independent candidate Milan Martic. All the other candidates together won about 48,000 votes.

Therefore, the presidential candidates in the run-off will be Milan Babic and Milan Martic. According to the Law on Elections, the presidential election run-off in the RSK should be held in 14 days. However, according to Vojinovic, due to the upcoming New Year and [Orthodox]

Christmas holidays, the republic's Electoral Commission is reviewing the possibility of postponing the date.

The official results of the elections for 84 deputies in Krajina's new parliament were also revealed this evening. The Krajina SDS won the relative but insufficient majority of 31 seats or 36.9 percent of votes. The Serb Radical Party won 16 seats, the Serb Democratic Party of All Serb Lands [Srpska Demokratska Stranka Svih Srpskih Zemalja] 15 seats, while candidates put forward by groups of citizens won eight seats.

The Serb Party of Socialists [Srpska Partija Socijalista] won six seats, and the Social-Democratic Party and the Serb Democratic party four seats each.

These are official but not final results because complaints can be submitted within 24 hours, the chairman of the republic's Electoral Commission stressed.

Presidential Runoff in 2 Weeks

AU2812154193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Report by Sava Jankovic from Knin]

[Text] The official results of the repeated elections for president of the republic of Serbian Krajina and a number of deputies should be known today. This at least is what reporters were told last night by the republic's electoral commission, which released partial and unofficial results.

According to those results, Dr. Milan Babic, presidential candidate for the Serbian Democratic Party, leads the independent candidate, Milan Martic. However, the spokesman for the republic's electoral commission, Risto Matkovic, said that it was certain that neither of the candidates would get the necessary number of votes [to win outright]. According to his assessment, a second round of presidential elections was possible. [sentence as heard] If this is to be believed, the election race in Krajina will continue, and the elections will be over in 14 days.

Anyway, about 60 percent of the electorate voted in Sunday's elections, which indicates a certain weariness, as election fever has been shaking Krajina for two months now.

Belgrade TV on Runoff

AU2812200693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Report by Petko Koprivica]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to Milos Vojinovic, chairman of the republic's elections commission—and this can be taken as official information—Milan Babic failed by over 1,700 votes to seize the presidential throne. One should say though that Babic's advantage after the repeated voting was significantly reduced in comparison with the current elections rating of Milan Martic, who—it is believed here—has a great chance to beat his rival in the next round. The decision to repeat the elections in several constituencies because of a series of irregularities was correct, as the results revealed, particularly when it came to the presidential vote.

At many polling stations where Milan Babic had convincingly triumphed on 12 December, Milan Martic won the absolute confidence of the citizens after the repeated elections on Sunday. Whether and why the Krajina people changed their minds so radically within only two weeks or whether something else is afoot is hard to say now. However, it is obvious that this time the monitoring of the polling stations was much better organized than on 12 December. That is why Milan Martic's election headquarters are clearly optimistic about the second round of the presidential elections. Let us mention in that context that he has been receiving countless telegrams of sincere support since yesterday. The citizens of Serbian Kostajnica, for example, sent the following message to Knin:

We are aware, friend Milan Martic, that—as the first Krajina fighter for the interests of the Serbian people—you are insulted by the filthy deception of some individuals, who are blind to everything but themselves in their fight for power. Such people cannot see the interests of Serbianhood, and that is why we are begging you not to give up now.

Presidential candidate Milan Martic has received similar telegrams of support from many of his fellow fighters, and citizens of Serbia, Montenegro, the republic of Srpska, and the republic of Serbian Krajina. [passage omitted]

Martic Hails Milosevic as 'Champion Politician'

AU2812205893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Interview with Milan Martic, presidential candidate for Serbian Krajina, by Sladjana Stamenkovic in Prokuplje on 28 December—recorded]

[Text] [Stamenkovic] Asked to answer our question as to whether we were closer to peace after Brussels and Geneva, Milan Martic, interior minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, said:

[Martic] Brussels and Geneva made some progress, I believe, toward peace. The Serb side in particular expressed a strong commitment toward peace. It showed it did not want war, and I hope that the whole world, which preaches democracy, has finally understood that we are not the cause of the conflict here, that we are normal people who attacked no one, that we want what others have—peace, freedom, and to work and behave like everyone else who has the right to democracy.

I hope that our President Milosevic, who has emerged as the champion politician of the world, has convinced the other politicians that dominate the world that the only possible way is to seek a solution through political means, that is, at the table and not through war. I am convinced that the world, which preaches democracy for itself, will respect our peace efforts, and that it will very soon lift the sanctions against the FRY, and thus show that it was mistaken in the first place to blame us Serbs exclusively as culprits, thanks to the media blockade, which prevented our truth from reaching the world.

[Stamenkovic] How would you comment on the military and political position of Krajina in view of the latest elections? The results are still unofficial.

[Martic] It is very important that we preserve our borders. However, I hope that whoever gets elected as future president of the republic of Serbian Krajina [pauses] he must have good relations with the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serbian Yugoslavia [as heard], that is, Serbia, since the process of unification that has started and is being successfully conducted by our all-Serbian President Milosevic must be supported by the president of Krajina, whoever he may be. It cannot be that the Krajina people, who hold President Milosevic in extremely high esteem, [pauses] the president of that Krajina cannot be opposed to President Milosevic, that is, [Bosnian serb leader Radovan] Karadzic. [sentence as heard] These two men, who take the credit for the fact that the world has learned our truth and about our just struggle for what everyone else in the world has, the right to self-determination, I hope that these two men will complete that very successfully. The future president of Krajina must follow that process, he cannot be opposed to that percentage [procent].

Drnovsek Predicts Economic, Political Stability

AU2912092293 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] Slovenia has already gone through the worst economic shock. The economic growth is supposed to begin as of now. For the majority of people, the standard of living will remain at the same level next year. The year 1994 is, therefore, supposed to be a year of economic and political stability. This is what Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek said, among other things, in an interview for Television Slovenia last night.

He assessed the work of the government to be positive and said that the promises given at the beginning of the year were fulfilled. According to him, the aim of the government coalition was to reduce tensions in Slovene political life, and that is what has happened.

Regarding relations with Croatia, Prime Minister Drnovsek said that he has lately deliberately opted for a cooling of relations at the highest level, namely because, so far, only Slovenia was mobilizing the talks and presenting concrete proposals. With this cooling of relations he would like to tell Zagreb that this problem should interest both sides.

Peterle Views Foreign Ministry Priorities

AU2812164593 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle at today's regular monthly news conference summed up the work of our state's foreign policy this year. His most important assessment was that Slovenia has maintained an ongoing political dialogue with all the developed countries of the world. Relations with Europe are extremely positive. Nadja Pengov has more details about the news conference:

[Begin recording] [Pengov] First, some of the most important results. Slovenia became a member of the Council of Europe this year. We continue to draw closer to other European organizations.

[Peterle] Regarding the European Union, I would like to say that we expect the mandate for associate membership talks as early as spring, that is, that we would enter the next round of talks still under the Greek presidency. As I have mentioned, we will start negotiations with the European Free Trade Association in January. We also expect to sign a free trade agreement with Hungary. The official visit to Poland is scheduled to take place at the end of January, and, therefore, I am convinced that this will also accelerate the preparation of this agreement by spring at the latest, and I expect that we will also sign a free trade agreement with Poland. Then we will have signed free trade zone agreements with all the members of the Visegrad group.

[Pengov] Slovenia has developed an extensive ambassadorial network. We have diplomatic relations with 93 countries. There are 20 embassies in Ljubljana. We have been recognized by 114 countries. We have signed various agreements with 34 of them. Many tasks that at the beginning of the year did not seem certain at all have been realized.

What are the priorities for Slovene foreign policy in the coming year? First are, of course, the relations with our neighbors. Relations with Austria and Hungary are very good. Relations with Italy have improved. Sadly, the same does not apply to relations with Croatia. The Slovene foreign minister hopes that all the controversial issues will be resolved and that a solution will also be found for the border issues.

One of the remaining open issues is the succession of former Yugoslavia and the arms embargo. The latter will be, Peterle expects, resolved in the coming year.

Here are some other conclusions. It would be good if the Foreign Ministry in the future took care of the country's promotion, of which the ministry is capable. A document entitled "The Slovene Foreign Strategy" is being produced. Because we have signed the annex to the coalition agreement it will have to go through a certain procedure. The fact that this document has been absent does not prove that Slovenia has no foreign strategy. If it had not, then it would not have achieved what it did in foreign policy areas. Our foreign policy does have certain constant feature, such as aspirations toward joining the European Union.

The attitude toward the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina remains unchanged. The government is expected to decide on the request from the Sarajevo authorities to have logistic centers for Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia shortly after the New Year. Visas for Greece will be abolished in January. [end recording]

Reports Show Rise in November Production

AU2812154893 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Dec 93 p 3

["I.P."-attributed report: "Production in November Slightly Lower"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 December—This November, Slovene industry was slightly less bustling than in October, however, it has produced more than in November 1992 and has also reduced the lag of this year's production behind last year's.

As the Statistical Institute has reported, in November, industry produced 2.9 percent less than in October, which had the same number of working days. Disregarding Saturdays and Sundays, one sees that November 1992 also had 22 working days, therefore, as many as this year's, but, in November this year, industry nevertheless produced 3.4 percent more.

The Institute also compares the production over the 11 months of this year with the 11 months of last year and

reports that production is still at the level of two decades ago, that is, of the so-called laden years, namely, at the level of the 11-month period for 1974.

Unemployment, Employment Statistics Cited

AU2812154993 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Dec 93 p 1

["I.P."-attributed report: "Already More Than 15 Percent Unemployed"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 December—At the end of October, unemployment in Slovenia was 15.3 percent. This was announced today by the Statistical Institute, which has, since this year, been officially in charge of calculating this rate.

On the basis of the information of the Republican Employment Bureau we have already reported that the number of 137,257 unemployed in October dropped to 136,051 registered unemployed by the end of November. Despite a slight revival of production in the last few months, the number of employed in companies and organizations continues to shrink drastically. Namely, the Statistical Institute reports that only 615,520 people were employed in Slovenia at the end of October, or 4,807 less than at the end of this September.

Federal

Jovanovic Calls U.S Policy 'Malicious'

AU2812183693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Interview with FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Zivorad Djordjevic, editor of Radio Yugoslavia, in Belgrade on 28 December—recorded]

[Text] [Djordjevic] In your view, what was the decisive factor in the Muslim side rejecting the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina again despite the fact that the main condition—getting a third of this former republic—was met?

[Jovanovic] The decisive factor was that this Muslim side is in essence permanently committed to dominating the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to continuing the war as the only way and means of achieving that. It is interested in having the sanctions against Yugoslavia maintained or even tightened. Unfortunately, it has the support in this of some foreign factors, which keep it in the hope and under the illusion that it can achieve its war aims through the sanctions. As we know, it is not succeeding in achieving these war aims through any other means.

[Djordjevic] Can you tell us whether we can expect some changes in the attitude of the United States and the EU members toward solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the recent talks in Geneva and Brussels?

[Jovanovic] The joint Serb-Croat proposal, which meets the basic demand of the European Union, that is, the proposal to give the future Muslim republic a third of the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, is the basic reason why we expect the European Union to take a firmer attitude toward the Muslim side, and to exert the necessary pressure on it to stop undermining peace and setting impossible demands. Unfortunately that was not the case in Brussels, when the European Union was expected to base its main approach on welcoming the meeting of this demand. Instead it immediately supported the Muslim side in its new demand for quality in addition to quantity.

In the meantime, by 15 January, when the new talks are expected to take place, bilateral talks are supposed to be held between the sides in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, and also the European Union should reconsider its position toward the joint Serb-Croat proposal, and correct its approach. It should demand that the Muslim side start speaking of peace and not of the continuation of the war, and stop demanding new territories.

[Djordjevic] Can we assume that, after the peace agreement on Bosnia is signed, the West will again set further conditions for the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] The peace agreement on Bosnia is at the same time the natural end of the policy of sanctions against Yugoslavia. We said openly and publicly in Brussels that the agreement would not be signed unless there was a clear policy on the lifting of the sanctions parallel to the implementation of the stipulations of the agreement in practice. On the other hand, were that to happen, if the Security Council were to accept such an agreement and such an attitude to the process of lifting the sanctions, then we can expect attempts and pressure from certain quarters to have the sanctions subsequently linked to some other problems, and thus made eternal. There have been such attempts before, from some neighboring countries, then the United States, not to mention the bloc of Islamic countries, but such attempts have neither moral, political, or legal grounds in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, which after all imposed the sanctions on Yugoslavia. Other countries will certainly not be willing to suffer damage because of such a capricious policy of some countries.

[Djordjevic] Neighboring countries are also suffering serious economic damage because of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. Can we expect them to have a more involved role in the lifting of the sanctions?

[Jovanovic] They have already started to complain about the serious losses that they have suffered from the sanctions, and they have already started to submit bills to the Security Council, that is, to those countries that are insisting on the strict implementation of the sanctions. As the peace process progresses, and particularly with the expected signing of the peace plan, these countries will certainly be more vocal and direct in their demands to be freed of the duty to abide by the sanctions. That is one of the main reasons why the attempts by the United States and some other countries to complicate and further condition the process of the sanctions-lifting have no chance of succeeding, since other countries will not want to work to their own disadvantage just in order to satisfy such a malicious political approach, such as punishing Yugoslavia at any cost and even without any cause.

[Djordjevic] What can one expect from Greece once it takes over the EU chairmanship as far as the sanctions are concerned?

[Jovanovic] Greece is the country in the European Union that has had an objective and impartial approach to the Yugoslav crisis from the very start. Its chairmanship of the European Union in the next six months will certainly bring some refreshing views and correct this policy of double standards that the European Union has been conducting over the Yugoslav crisis, and particularly the Bosnian one. We expect Greece to conduct an active, robust, and principled policy toward a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis, where all three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be treated equally. We expect that Yugoslavia will be freed from this false guilt and responsibility for the war in Bosnia, which has for months now been waged between two non-Serb sides, the

Muslims and the Croats. Yugoslavia is the country that has done the most to keep the peace process in Geneva, to make progress, to have it result in success. We expect this to happen in the coming weeks, or perhaps the coming months.

[Djordjevic] Finally, how would you comment on the attitude of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia toward Yugoslavia in view of the latest events. I mean the fact that [Macedonia President] Kiro Gligorov received [Kosovar Albanian leader Ibrahim] Rugova, the fact that the representative of Macedonia [in the UN General Assembly] was the only one outside the Muslim world to vote in favor of a resolution that would lift the arms embargo against Muslims in Bosnia, and such things.

[Jovanovic] That is unfortunately a continuation of this negative policy that this former Yugoslav republic has been conducting toward the FRY. There was nothing new about receiving Mr. Rugova, as he had been received and respectfully, too, before, almost as a statesman. The behavior of Macedonia on the international scene has always been anti-Serb and anti-Yugoslav. That results from the fact that this former Yugoslav republic, which achieved independence through unilateral secessionism, always follow those foreign centers that initiated the breakup of the former Yugoslavia in their rejection of the right of Serbia and Montenegro to continue coexistence in the remaining part of Yugoslavia, and to enjoy the right to state continuity of Yugoslavia as a state and their interminable homeland. [sentence as heard]

What the representatives of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia did in the UN General Assembly is an approach that is completely in contradiction to their official assurances that they are our friendly and good neighbors, as that resolution, as we know, demands both the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the United Nations and the lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims. This means that Macedonia has sided with the group of Islamic and other countries that want war and not peace in Bosnia.

[Djordjevic] Thank you, Mr. Minister.

[Jovanovic] Thank you.

Government To Protest German Toxic Waste

AU2812164893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Report by Mirjana Georgijev from Belgrade]

[Text] The Federal Government will lodge a sharp protest with the Governments of Albania and Germany for not removing the toxic waste located on the border between the FRY and Albania. Federal Environment Minister Slobodanka Djordan said that Albania was willing to take the waste back, but Germany was not. Germany was offering money in return but would not have the waste back. Our ministry got hold of the shorthand notes from the German parliamentary session of 12 December, at which there was a sharp debate over this, and this supports this view. The shorthand notes also show that toxic waste is stored in some other east European countries apart from Albania and Romania. Albania used to import hundreds of tonnes of toxic waste before 1990, and stored it at some 150 locations. This amount has now been reduced to about 80 tonnes a year.

The Federal Agriculture Ministry has increased inspection control on the border crossings, so instead of 22 there are now 34 inspectors. The problem is that travel lists and railroad cars often carry the sign humanitarian aid for agriculture, and our customs inspectors cannot inspect the contents of these carriages as they are in transit. That is why there has been a proposal to ban the transportation of pesticides through Yugoslavia. The Federal Government does not allow the waste stored so far to be returned through our country. The inspectors have been touring the border area where the waste is stored, but measures only what is going on on our side. According to their reports, the poison has leaked only onto the ground, and underground water has not yet been contaminated.

New Dinar Introduced, Convertibility Planned

LD2812230793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2210 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The new dinar, formed by knocking nine zeroes [from the old currency], will be released into circulation as early as tomorrow [29 December]—Belgrade's POLITIKA claims, citing well-informed and reliable sources.

As the paper writes in its 29 December issue, the new bank notes of one, 10, 1,000, and 5,000 "new" dinars should "bridge the incredible shortage [of cash] caused by inflation reaching into the millions."

Announcing the issuing of the new "reformed bank notes" before the decision to reform the currency—announced for 1 January 1994—comes into effect, POLITIKA explains that this is in fact only a technical means of payment [as received]. According to POLITIKA, the new bank notes should make possible the payment of pensions, salaries, and other incomes before the New Year.

In a separate article, tomorrow's issue of POLITIKA gives details of the Federal Government's package of measures for next year, stressing that the priority task is putting an immediate end to the financing of public expenditure and economy from new money issues.

POLITIKA has also learnt that the new package of measures, which should come into effect in the first days of next year, envisages the internal convertibility of the dinar. This means that citizens and firms could buy and sell foreign currency in [Yugoslav] banks. [passage omitted]

Serbia

SPS 'Will Never Cooperate' With Radical Party

LD2812155393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Spokesman of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] Ivica Dacic said at a news conference in Belgrade today that the SPS has not considered the possibility of forming a coalition, but parliamentary parties will be able to make their proposals for participation in the government of Serbia.

On two occasions in the past we asked opposition parties to put forward their proposals for possible posts in the government, something which they, on both occasions, rejected. Our doors are open now, too, to all parties, apart from those who are working against the interests of the citizens of Serbia, Dacic said, stressing that the SPS "will never cooperate with the Serbian Radical Party."

He stated that the SPS is the winner of the elections for the republican parliament and that this party "will participate as the strongest party in the constitutional procedure of forming the new government of Serbia." [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Crvenkovski Expects Zhirinovskiy To 'Cool Down'

AU2812205093 Skopje MIC in English 28 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "Stevo Crvenkovski: 'Zhirinovskiy Should Cool Down'"]

[Text] On the occasion of the statements made by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy that Macedonia and Thrace should be integrated into Bulgaria and that it should become a central country in the Balkans, at yesterday's press conference, Macedonia's Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski stated: "These last days, we have heard quite a few statements made by Zhirinovskiy, on various topics. The type of political stance he is proclaiming is not unknown to this region. I believe that such political opinion has clearly suffered a defeat. I think that when Mr. Zhirinovskiy cools down from the preelection and election atmosphere, he'll measure his words."

Transportation Ministry Meets Albanian Delegation

AU2812174593 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 28 (ATA)—Delegations of the Albanian Ministry of Transportation led by Deputy Minister Sopot Haci and the Macedonian Ministry of Transportation led by Deputy Minister Jorgo Shundovski met in Skopje December 21, 1993 to discuss the prolongation of the term of the protocol on motor road transportation between Albania and Macedonia until June 30, 1994. During this time it is planned the signing of the agreement on international passengers and goods transportation between the two countries.

Minister Discusses Defense of Republic

AU2812165093 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 24 Dec 93 pp 7,8,9

[Interview with Macedonian Minister of Defense Vlado Popovski by Sinisa Stankovic; place and date not given: "Macedonia Is Neither Rwanda Nor Burundi"]

[Text] [Stankovic] Why are some documents of vital importance for the defense strategy and concept of the Republic of Macedonia delayed?

[Popovski] When we say some documents are late, which has been strongly misinterpreted by the public, it is necessary to note that it is the defense strategy of the Republic of Macedonia that has not been prepared yet. It is the philosophy and concept of defense, a document created by the Defense Ministry and the General Staff Officers, together with all the other professional potential in the Republic. Such a document needs longer preparation and it is preceded by a project, a study, an analysis, and a definition. There are some countries with a longer experience of statehood and army, such as Slovenia and Croatia, that have not prepared such a document yet; they, too, are in the period of defining their relevant important documents. So far, we have prepared and verified the Defense Plan of the Republic of Macedonia and all the other additional documents necessary for its implementation and revitalization in a concrete situation. The other documents on the army command and the way of its realization, some 90 percent of what has been envisaged by the Defense Law, have already been prepared.

[Stankovic] What about the amendments to the Defense Law, with amendments and additions in the spirit of the present situation?

[Popovski] Talking about the laws, the first of the system laws promulgated by a two third majority in the People's Assembly was the Defense Law of the Republic of Macedonia. That law has been promulgated and realized. The Defense Ministry has been modelled by that law; within that framework, we have defined the position of General Staff Officers in Macedonia. Regarding the legal regulation of matters of the competence of the defense, we cannot say there are no legal norms. It has to do with its amendments, which is a process that has already reached the point of draft amendments and additions in the Defense Law. We hope the government procedure will start around 15 January, and those amendments and additions will be presented to the People's Assembly toward the end of January. Therefore, as far as the legal and sub-legal documents are concerned, there is no delay. Their amendments have a dynamic imposed by necessity and experience.

[Stankovic] Regarding the Rule Book that allowed greater authority to the minister in the services and duties of the Macedonian Army, a number of higher officers showed their dissatisfaction. Is it possible that the older officers have greater difficulties in adapting themselves to the changes in the Macedonian Army due to some limitations in their consciousness?

[Popovski] The question dealing with that tendency has been worked out in Article 46 of the Defense Law, which has been denied by the Constitutional Court. That article said that the status of higher officers was to be regulated by a sub-legal act of the minister. Since the Constitutional Court defined the need for legal standards about the limits and the basic aspects of the status of those persons, those matters will also be adjusted by the proposed amendments to the Law. On the other hand, it is not a problem with the consciousness of the officers, but it is a question of whether some status aspects of the total position of officer should be defined by a rule book and depend on the minister's judgment, or whether they should be regulated by law, that is to say, defined by parliament. These are issues regarding the ranks and the conditions for obtaining ranks, demotions and so on. There are no doubts hereafter, and it will be defined by a court decision with legal substance, and the procedures will thereafter be in concordance with that substance. The other issues, the staff for instance, the ranks of officers to the level of colonel, are in the competence of the minister and generals, with the authority of the president of the Republic. This matter has never been objected to by the staff in uniform, because, within the Yugoslav National Army, the same authorities belonged to the federal secretary of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, who is now the minister. Such a regulated institute also prevails in the world.

[Stankovic] What are now the reactions to the civil supervision of the Macedonian Army?

[Popovski] Such supervision is dominant in the world. We made a comparison and scanned the situation in 98 countries, and found that, in 86 countries of importance for democracy in peaceful conditions, defense is directly led and governed by the Defense Ministry. Only in 6 countries are the defense and armed forces governed by the General Staff officers in conditions of peace. Those countries are: Burundi, Ghana, Yemen, Jordan, Kuwait, and Rwanda. It means that such a role of the army headquarters is possible for some African countries where the army is the backbone of the state, the best organized and efficient institution. The Republic of Macedonia is a European state with a longer experience of statehood, therefore it places its institutional, social, and political perspective in the frameworks of the modern European civic societies. In that context, Macedonia cannot be inspired by the African countries, but by the European democracies, the United States, Canada, or by countries with developed civic societies, with democratic institutions and procedures.

[Stankovic] After the discord with General Arsovski, what are the relations between the Defense Ministry and the Macedonian Army like now, and what is your evaluation of the position of the new chief of staff, General Bocinov?

[Popovski] It is true that, in the past, there existed a certain conflict between the Defense Ministry and the Macedonian Army, because the Army General Staff performed the duties of the Defense Ministry. In doing so, the General Staff wasted enormous energy and disqualified itself in its basic function. For instance, the material, financial, and safety operations of the army in peace conditions was categorically said to be in the function of the Defense Ministry, but it was performed by an adequate department of the General Staff until the month of June, and the General Staff wasted its precious time on providing food-stuffs and so on.

In dealing with ordinary trade or civilian personnel policy (the employment of cleaning personnel, nurses, archivists and so on), the Army General Staff was wasting a lot of time. By law, its basic function is to prepare the armed forces of the Republic of Macedonia in the military way, to provide for the training, the professional defense operations, and command of the army itself. I would particularly like to stress that the command and the operational and professional activities are in the autonomy of the General Staff, while the Defense Ministry is not competent in these spheres. As far as the material and financial operations are concerned, the personnel policy, the security, the personnel, and the referent production, they are typical for the Defense Ministry, not only for our own, but for all such ministries in general. Within the disputes with the chief officer of the General Staff, General Arsovski, there emerged the question of whether it was justified to place a civilian at the head of the Ministry, the way it had been stated in the Constitution and the Defense Law. Only the countries of the eastern bloc had a general for minister, but even they abandoned that model, and now we want to reintroduce it with the explanation it is rational for the future of Macedonia. Today, all those countries are incorporated in the proven model by which defense matters, in conditions of peace, should be in civil hands, transparent to the legal centers of civil authority and under the supervision of the minister, the government, the parliament....

[Stankovic] If the world's experience proves it is right to have a civilian for a minister, what is your opinion about a possible party affiliation of the defense minister?

[Popovski] I can only state my personal opinion, because there are no constitutional regulations about that. The minister is a member of the government, which can be a party government or an expert government, and every member of the government can be a minister of defense. However, no greater deviations should occur due to the party affiliation of the minister, because the work of the minister is under the control and supervision of the government. Next, according to our Constitution, beside

the collective responsibility, there also exists the so-called individual responsibility of the ministers before parliament and it is a fact that the supervising and controlling mechanisms, and the efficient operations in cases of proven deviation of the minister, are always accessible to the legitimate bodies. Therefore, one cannot say it has always been better to have a minister who is not affiliated to any party. I, personally, am not affiliated to any party and I am not a party activist. I am a candidate of the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia mandate, which means I have accepted that mandate and I am acting as a professional. Let me emphasize that I have never been under pressure from the party, which has the mandate for this ministry, in decision making or operations of any kind. Regardless of the legal and legitimate authority, there have never been any interventions in decision making. Even if there had been, they would never have been accepted by the other side.

[Stankovic] Do you think that the current situation in the Defense Ministry prevents the army, as a component of it, becoming a political factor?

[Popovski] The politicizatation of the military component in the Defense Ministry was usually related only to the highest leading structures of that army, not to the other segments. I think the highest structures of the Macedonian Army have mostly accepted the model proscribed by the Constitution and the laws. A great number of those working in the military services did not support the stance of the hitherto chief of the General Staff who insisted on the politicizatation of the General Staff and on its transformation into a body outside of government and parliamentary control. Some members of the General Staff openly stated this to General Arsovski at their meetings, knowing his model was unknown even in the period of the former Yugoslav National Army. There might be some remnants of the general's dilemma in some segments, however I think that relations within the Defense Ministry have been consolidated and do not resemble the former situation, especially after the retirement of General Arsovski. In my opinion, there is excellent cooperation between the Defense Ministry and the General Staff officers, as well as between myself and Bocinov, the chief of the General Staff, personally.

[Stankovic] In trying to make contact with General Bocinov, I got the impression that he is avoiding contact with the public. Is it a stance of the Defense Ministry, or is it a personal decision?

[Popovski] The policy of defense is conducted by the civil centers and this is important in explaining the model and the need for understanding among all the segments of the Defense Ministry. There is now a change compared to the previous situation. The previous 3d Army had its Department for Public Relations and its spokesman, that is, a military person of military competence. The same department within the Federal Secretariat for National Defense was under the authority of the secretary, that is, the minister. Today, the public information and press contacts are in the authority of a special department of the Defense Ministry. There are civilians as well as military officers in it, as is also the situation in the Department for International Cooperation. Maybe this situation places the General Staff in a position of refraining from contact with the public more than people expected. However, the personality and function of the chief of the General Staff (General Bocinov) cannot be denied communication with the public.

[Stankovic] In the polemics regarding military education, there was a question whether soldiers, subjects of the current authority, will be trained, or real professionals.

[Popovski] There is a growing need for the training of a command staff capable of leading live forces and technical and technological systems in defense, which are much more complicated today, and there is no institution in the Republic that can produce such personnel. The lack of such military schooling means there is a vacuum that cannot be filled without an adequate academy, particularly because a great number of higher officers are retiring. At this stage, I lack about 970 officers and sub-officers for the infantry, and there is no other way in which I can compensate for that.

Not even the Defense Institute can do that, although, hitherto, it was trained personnel for the defense department, for the former territorial defense system that does not exist anymore, for the Defense Ministry, and for the regional defense units. We are making great use of those qualified staff, but now it has to do with commanding infantry personnel, which requires a different curriculum and different studies. The future students will not only be scholars, but also a part of the army, a special formation that usually represents an integral part of the elite units in other armies. Due to some objections, which were not so present in the public but more forced by some mass media and political circles, we decided to reevaluate and analyze the Law on the Military Academy and, today, we expect approval of that law by some competent ministries.

I, personally, support that draft law, the actual procedure for its promulgation, and I share the opinion on the need for special military education. I am even prepared to risk my mandate in the struggle for that concept. I think that concept will pass through parliament, because it is supported by strong arguments. First of all, it is the cheapest concept, because the academy students will not have to do special army service, the efficiency of the schooling will be great, disruption will be scarce, and most of the students will graduate on time. We have calculated that, per cadet, 14,000 German marks [DM] will be needed for four years of study, and that a large number of the instructors and professors will come from the ranks of the Macedonian Army, which will also reduce costs.

[Stankovic] It means that at least a number of those 9 doctors of military studies will be useful, as will the 19 with masters degrees; 20 officers graduated at the National Defense school with science doctorates, as well as 127 officers with masters degrees.

[Popovski] Absolutely, we have also got a number of officers who were professors at academies in former Yugoslavia.

[Stankovic] What about the opinions of doing these studies abroad, the arguments about a small state and the unnecessary formation of an academy?

[Popovski] There has never been such a dilemma. Education abroad can be applied only to the highest military schools that aid the achievement of general rank. The first example of that type will be with two officers of high ranks who will be sent to high military academies in Turkey.

[Stankovic] What about the specific officer cadre for special branches of service?

[Popovski] We shall provide for them through regular education with additional courses. The academy will only be used for the needs of the command personnel in the infantry. Just another explanation regarding the previous question: there is no country that allows its main military education to be performed in another country. Not only because of the educational system, but also because of the referent, valuable systems that are achieved in the academies, the high military schooling has to be done in our own academy. The Macedonian Army will probably need 50 cadets per year. Their education in their own country has numerous advantages.

[Stankovic] The latest two events on the Macedonian-Albanian and the Macedonian-Yugoslav borders introduced many questions about the safety of the Macedonian borders. Why are mixed patrols still patrolling on the borders?

[Popovic] The mixed patrols have been formed recently, some three to four months ago. Before that only members of the Macedonian Army patrolled. There are problems on the Macedonian-Yugoslav border about the definition of the border line as well as about the safety of the border, for which the Defense Ministry is competent, and national safety, which is in the competence of the Interior Ministry. As long as Serbia and Yugoslavia do not recognize Macedonia officially, as long as there prevails the mentality that it is not just an imaginary line, but that it really is a border, it will be necessary to have mixed patrols, because they simultaneously perform the duties of the two ministries. There were cases of numerous illegal crossings of the western border and it was necessary to increase the number of the patrols by including the police, thus applying the method of a patrol with the experience of the two structures. Such mixed patrols are characteristic for other countries, and hitherto we did not apply them, that is why it is of interest now. For the time being, we are happy with the idea and the experiment of mixed patrols.

[Stankovic] How do you evaluate the situation in army security after the affair of the "All-Albanian Army?" After your two interviews, it still remained unclear whether the Army Security Service was included in the "two years' work" of the Interior Ministry and whether you, personally, and the army service, knew about their work?

[Popovic] Regarding the discovery of the paramilitary structure of Albanian citizens of Macedonia, I believe it was generated by the departure of the Yugoslav National Army and the break up of Yugoslavia, but I also believe that such actions have continued until today, which marks those activities and protagonists as subversive activities and subjects. My personal belief is that this paramilitary structure was prepared for a possible expansion of the war in the south of the Balkans, in Macedonia. That structure would make such sense and would suggest that all those who called themselves a part of the All-Albanian Army should be included. The idea and the function would be to impose a solution to the Albanian question, integrally in the Balkans. In case such a presumption did not exist and in case Macedonia and its borders were stable, I think such a paramilitary formation would not have been used against Macedonia with the aim of destabilizing it. It would have been counterproductive, not only for the Albanian citizens of Macedonia, but also for the Republic of Albania, because it is clear that the integrity of the Republic of Macedonia and its stability are a condition for the stability of Albania and of the whole region.

Ultimately, Albania has recognized Macedonia de jure and has given its guarantees to the international public that it respects the borders and the territorial integrity of Macedonia. Therefore, I consider that it is not logical to think that, regardless of the general situation, this organization was created with the aim of destabilizing Macedonia.

Next, regarding the relations of the two security services and the discovery of this organization, the Security Service, the Intelligence Service, and the Counterintelligence Service of the Macedonian Army are not in a hierarchical relationship with the Interior Ministry. They are in a parallel relationship and there is a transitional cooperation between the two. The issue of national security will be reviewed in future, as is being done in other states. They should be united in a unique vertical institution in the government or elsewhere. For the time being, the security system of Macedonia has not been completed and work certainly needs to be done. In this case there is good cooperation between the services of the two ministries. They worked together to analyse the importance of the discovered documents.

[Stankovic] According to the Interior Ministry announcement, your assistant was left to work on "developing the affair." How true is that?

[Popovski] It is true. The announcement implies that it was known that Mr. Haskaj was involved in illegal activities and that early limitation of his movement could produce a countereffect on those engaged in following him, and could also have put Macedonia in a very awkward political situation. According to the methodology and nature of the engagement, it is essential and justified to leave some room for collecting a critical mass of documents needed to prove the deed. If you want to know whether I knew anything about Haskaj before he became deputy minister, I can tell you that I knew the part that has been become known so far. After taking up his yposition in the Interior Ministry Haskaj never received any confidential information.

[Stankovic] How really important were the documents for the defense of Macedonia? The military schedule of the 14th brigade was mentioned.

[Popovski] We have listed all the documents in his possession, some he had at his disposal, others he took from the archives. None of them is of importance for the security of the Republic of Macedonia. He was simply heading the process of recruitment for the October Class of soldiers and he was in charge of regional representation. At a certain moment he asked for confidential information, something that I, myself, never dare to ask for, and normally, he was not given that information.

[Stankovic] There is a whole history to the question of interethnic relations in the Macedonian Army: First, the members of the Albanian national minority who boycotted recruitment were not sanctioned, then the percentage of them in the recruitment contingent was drastically increased, something that was noticed by international observers, so that remarks were made about officers from the minorities being "recruited" through courses....Now we have the question of distinction between the previous practice of national representation and the penetration of the minorities in all spheres.

[Popovski] Let us start with what was most commonly spoken about. The idea of national representation or national distribution in the Macedonian Army was invented by the parties and then discussed by some of the media. When we speak of national representation in the Macedonian Army we mean ensuring an officer corps that corresponds approximately to the national structure of the population. If the Albanian nationality is 22 or 23 percent (it will be known after the census), it means that in a year or two 22-23 percent of the officers in the army should be Albanian. The same key should be applied to all the other nationalities according to the percentage of the population they represent. It would imply selection on the basis of factors beyond any professional or other criteria for becoming an officer, which is neither logical nor natural. There has never been, and there never will be such a policy.

When we talk about interethnic relations, it means providing chances for all citizens regardless of national affiliation. This is therefore regulated by the civil status. What is the situation like in the army and what have we inherited? The number of officers of Albanian or other national origin is very low, as is the number of other employees of other national origin in the ministry and in other regional units, including the so-called civilians in those segments of the army. Talking about the Albanians, there are 89 Albanian officers. That is not enough, particularly now that there is an increasing number of applications under the conditions determined by the army for all, that is, with the methods and ways the army recruits officers and employees. That is why we have 21 Albanians reservists at school, which caused so much reaction....

[Stankovic] That was not all, the reaction was rather because it thus made it possible to recruit officers through a course.

[Popovski] I shall give you an answer to that, too. It was something organized by the Albanian reserve officers. It was not the first such course. It was not an unknown method for army officers. We used to use the method even before, and not only for the Albanians. Today, the General Staff and the Defense Ministry think it is necessary to replace the courses with regular schooling.

[Stankovic] In the army the question of money is very sensitive. The press carried a letter containing the strong reactions of managers of companies to which the army owes money, among whom there were parents with sons doing military service. The soldiers have been talking about the standards. What are the soldiers' complaints?

[Popovski] Let me stress that the material and financial situation in the army, and the reactions in that regard, do not have a negative impact on standards in terms of accommodation, clothing, nutrition, the standard in the barracks, and training. To be precise, the standard of the soldiers in the Macedonian Army is not lower than it was in the former Yugoslav People's Army. The reactions of some managers regarding the debts apply to obligational relations, debts the ministry has incurred for supplies. When the army was in the best financial situation, reflecting the general material position of the republic, we were able to pay our debts in 10 to 15 days, and in the worst situation we did so in 45 days. That is the maximum period the Interior Ministry is in debt. That makes the ministry a reliable trading partner. However, it is always a question that depends on the dynamics of the budget.

[Stankovic] Are you satisfied with the part of the budget dedicated to the army?

[Popovski] We are satisfied within the framework of the total budget of the Republic of Macedonia. We are the second ministry, following the Ministry of Education, which accounts for the biggest part of the budget. Of course, we always ask for more than we get, and we consider that the 2.8 percent of the budget dedicated to the army should be increased to 3.5 percent. It is the amount needed for the more rapid dynamic we need in

equiping the Macedonian Army, because there is a lack of continuity here. The former Yugoslav National Army took away the arms. We had to begin with the arms of the Territorial Defense, and then continue to equip the army from the production capacities of the Republic of Macedonia. These are not small, but it is not enough. We are not always happy with the rate of delivery, especially with debts we are not able to pay in 45 days, when we become insolvent, because then interest rates "eat up" a large part of our funds.

[Stankovic] What is your view on the presence of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], particularly the U.S. contingent? How are communications with them and is there any kind of coordination?

[Popovic] We are the ministry responsible for coordination with the international forces. The Defense Ministry took the initiative to investigate the need for the presence of such forces in the mission of preventive peace protection on our territory. We consider the Security Council's decision of great importance for the defense of the Republic of Macedonia, because initially there was some tension on the border. It was provoked from the outside, based on rejection of the fact of the territorial integrity and independence of Macedonia. The world had to know the truth about our northern and western border. With the UNPROFOR presence, a message was sent to all the Balkan states that the borders are unchangeable and that the state sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Macedonia are respected by the international community and that it is preventively protected by peacekeeping forces. During the process of gaining its independence and the constitution of a sovereign state, Macedonia obtained guarantees from the United Nations and the world powers for its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The presence of the international forces was proof of that guarantee. Macedonia was thus not considered a gray zone or a no-man's-land, or a territory under somebody's control. UNPROFOR, today, particularly after the arrival of the U.S. contingent, continues to perform the function of peacekeeping and preventing the war from expanding to the south. It is also a warning to a possible aggressor. Coordination with UNPROFOR is done through a special body headed by a deputy secretary of the Defense Ministry and through the so-called body for critical situations, which consists of four ministers, the commander of the Macedonian command of the UNPROFOR forces, the representative of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and the CSCE ambassador.

[Stankovic] The public was right to accept ironically the the UNPROFOR Command's decision that journalists were not welcome at the the U.S. contingent's military exercises. That raises the question of coordination of UNPROFOR actions on Macedonian territory.

[Popovski] The Defense Ministry fully informs the competent authorities in the republic about all UNPROFOR activities and there certainly is coordination. It is the duty of UNPROFOR, and we are always given advance notice of whatever actions are in preparation so we can state our opinion. We knew about the military exercises and we had a chance to observe them. The UNPROFOR command bears in mind the views of the leadership of our republic, because we are the second side in the agreement on the peacekeeping mission in Macedonia, a side that is sovereign within its own territory.

[Stankovic] The idea of Macedonia as a demilitarized zone, in its vulgar sense, was accepted by military circles as an attempt to marginalize the Macedonian Army. What is your personal opinion about a prospective demilitarization?

[Popovski] It is a wonderful idea as a prospect. However, the term demilitarization or neutrality is a term of international law and international political relations. It means no country can be deprived of the defense of its borders and sovereignty. Demilitarization means that another mechanism compensates for the internal component of demilitarization. That doctrine is productive for Macedonia only on the assumption that it will be internationally approved, with guarantees of its independence and territorial sovereignty being given. Even under such conditions, Macedonia will certainly have some border protection forces. Unfortunately, knowing our surroundings, Macedonia needs a bigger budget to equip its army to repulse a possible aggressor. This means that Macedonia will have to burden its economy for a longer period of time, before it can strengthen the positions of its army. The attitude of strengthening the military capabilities of the Macedonian armed forces and joining the so-called collective security systems, the CSCE, the European Union, the NATO, the Western European Union and so on, is figuring more prominently.

Japan Officially Announces Recognition

LD2812221293 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] Japanese Foreign Minister Tsutomu Hata today officially informed Stevo Crvenkovski, foreign relations minister of the Republic of Macedonia, that the Japanese Government recognized the Republic of Macedonia on 21 December this year. As well as congratulations, the telegram conveys Japan's readiness to promote friendship and good relations with the Republic of Macedonia.

Kosovo

Rugova Issues Statement on Tour Through Europe

AU2812154793 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No.259 in English 27 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "President Rugova to KIC: Kosova is an international Question"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosova]

[Text] After his official visits to Germany, Austria, Italy, Great Britain, and France, President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Rugova is back in Prishtina.

Following is a statement President Rugova gave to the Kosova Information Center (KIC) today:

"These were among the most important visits so far to some important European countries, which make the policy of the European Union. This was the first visit on a high official and state level in the recent times. In all the meetings, at a top level, we found greater understanding for the situation in Kosova issue. We discussed the Kosova problem at the historical, juridical and actual aspects. In these meetings, all the parties expressed the necessity of preventing any dangerous development in Kosova and the necessity for seeking a political and peaceful solution to the Kosova issue, because, if a conflict breaks out in Kosova there will be dangerous implications to the entire region. We likewise tackled the situation in the region and the impact the deterioration of the situation in Kosova can have on it. We presented our position on the solution of the Kosova issue, based on the referendum on Kosova as an independent and neutral state and in compliance with the current political constellations in the regions of former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Our basic demand was that Kosova be taken under international protection, that life gets normalized, and eventually to have talks with the Serbian side on the Kosova issue, naturally under the mediation of a third party. I can say that the project we presented in these meetings, a project which was unveiled early this year during a visit to the United States, together with the request for an international mandate, as a means for a peaceful settlement of the Kosova issue, is gaining increasing understanding. In all the meetings we had, it was stressed that the Kosova issue is not an internal affair of Serbia, but rather an international question", ends President Rugova's statement to KIC.

LDK Official Denounces Serbian Vote 'Fraud'

AU2912095093 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] Pristina, December 29 (ATA)—Nothing has changed in Kosova even after Serbian elections and there are no signs for anything to change for the better, Dr. Fehmi Agani, vice chairman of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] writes in a commentary in BORBA about parliamentary elections in Serbia. Further on he said that by refusing to take part in the Serbian elections, Albanians confirmed once more their orientation for an independent Kosova.

Mr. Agani considered elections in Serbia a fraud, adding that the greatest deceit appeared in Kosova. The light-minded opposition sacrificed the essential interests of Serbia for the sake of transparent national and "State" interests, Mr. Agani said.

BORBA itself had doubts in the "Victory," based on the manipulation of socialists according to the analysis of the number of voters and the number of Serbian-Montenegrin population in Kosova.

According to the newspaper, until 17.00 hrs, 40 thousand electors had voted while three hours later, the number was 52 thousand at a time when 10 per cent of the electors is not registered.

From this figure, it comes out that more Serbians than the official Serbian statistics are living in Kosova. If 90 thousand people have voted in Kosova and if we account that an average family in Kosova is made up of 3 members, then it comes out that there are 300 thousand Serbians living in Kosova. While according to official statistics 180,000 Serbians and Montenegrins are living in Kosova.

'Common Strategy' for Independence Demanded

AU2812144893 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Dec 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Period of Great Trial"]

[Text] The seriousness of the Albanian question in general and of the Albanian cause in Kosova and the areas of the former Yugoslavia in particular demands from all Albanians a new and different commitment and approach. Whether we wish to admit it or not, we have different parts to play in this commitment, parts of historic dimensions. The situation in which we find ourselves and the situation we would wish belong to members of the Albanian leadership on both sides of the intra-Albanian border, to intellectuals whether affiliated or independent, and to those responsible for political parties and other associations that bring Albanians together. Workers in the diaspora also have no small part to play, because they, besides being Kosova's sole "ambassadors" abroad, must also shoulder financial obligations toward the Kosova government and state.

The seriousness of the cause, besides total commitment, also demands responsibility in public utterances and thought before one speaks of [words indistinct] action, for the Albanian question in general (and we know that this question is very complicated and difficult, because our idea of the world), Albanian leaders, intellectuals, and also other strata that constitute the entire pyramid of Albanian society, must speak with one mind about [word indistinct] and must never be motivated by [words indistinct].

Without accusing anybody, but accusing all those who may recognize themselves in this article, the answer is that clearly we do not. We will now try to discover why not.

At present, in their home state and the remainder of their forcibly [words indistinct] two prime ministers, two parliaments, two academies of science, several universities, many intellectuals both affiliated and independent, and even more selfish private interests. Under political pluralism and our theoretically democratic system, there

is no harm in this. We all wish to lay perhaps even a single stone in the difficult task of building our citadel of independence. However, as we said at the outset, the largest stones for this citadel built with the help of all Albanians must be laid by the leaders we have elected and the intellectuals we have raised. Put bluntly, these stones are in the hands of Berisha and Rugova, the prime ministers and their colleagues, and the parliaments and their ministers. However, Albanian intellectuals of the caliber of Qosja, Kadare, and others perhaps carry no less weighty stones. There are also those Albanians who languished in prisons and became symbols of national resistance, such as Adem Demaci.

The mention of these people inevitably prompts another question: Are we not exhausting ourselves in the national question by dealing with each other, not to say accusing each other over what has been done and what has not been done? The reply comes at once: No doubt we are wearing ourselves out. This exhaustion is a result of our general national situation, with a difficult economic and political situation in Kosova and a not particularly favorable reputation abroad; and an uncertain economic and political situation for the Albanians in Macedonia, accompanied by serious intra-Albanian divisions. In East Kosova [Albanian-inhabited area of southern Serbia], Serbian terror and violence is the same as in Kosova, without any declaration of political autonomy. In Montenegro, the Albanians do not know whether they have come out in favor of political or territorial autonomy. The diaspora is highly divided with all those parties, clubs, associations, etc. and all those intra-Albanian borders which we ourselves have gradually imposed. We are exhausting ourselves first of all by accusing each other and blaming each other. It would be a good idea to sit down, think hard, and ask ourselves what we each have done for the homeland, to call on each other and to ask for each other's opinions, views, and work.

It is first of all up to the Albanian leadership, but up to Albanian intellectuals no less, to find a common voice and to work together and responsibly to implement the people's will. It is the people who will then stand by them. If the Albanian leaders, at least those for whom we have ourselves voted in elections of different kinds, have met many times for practical purposes and out of courtesy, our intellectuals, perhaps through their own fault or perhaps through the leadership's, have excluded themselves from public life and have begun to involve themselves in "more important matters." This self-exclusion, especially of intellectuals of the rank we mentioned, but also of others, is extremely harmful, if not irreparably so, to our further struggle for independence. Similarly harmful are the accusations that various intellectuals bring without evidence against the Albanian leaders.

When these intellectuals "excommunicate" themselves, or when we "excommunicate" them, political life and Albanian political efforts are impoverished, become uniform, and perhaps monotonous even for the outside world. For this reason, and because of the situation in which we are in, it is necessary for Albanian leaders and Albanian intellectuals to sit together and talk frankly, whether in Prishtina or Tirana, about the further steps needed to continue and improve our resistance. The general situation in the Balkans and especially in Kosova and the other ethnic Albanian areas in the former Yugoslavia requires this. For example, in Kosova, why do Rugova, Demaci, Qosja, and others (since our academies are still not up to the seriousness of the task our cause involves) not sit down and discuss all those things that we think "divide" us, in order then to unite on independence? These three personalities enjoy great respect in Kosova, the Albanian areas in the former Yugoslavia, the diaspora, and Albania. All three are listened to. However, there are not enough Albanians to listen to all three separately. One asks, when did these three authoritative personalities with great influence among the people first and last meet? The fact that here too they have separate responsibilities is something else. The main point is that they should heed the will of the people in favor of independence. Or why should this "trio" not go together to Berisha in order to talk with him about their versions of independence, and to emerge with a single one, a version that would inspire and indeed oblige everybody? As intellectuals, Qosja and Kadare, if not attached to parties, are not and cannot be nonpolitical. One in Kosova and the other abroad, both work and can work more for the same cause: the Albanians' independence. If these two were excommunicated, the Albanians would have few intellectuals. Both sides, these five people and perhaps some others, should then forget their personal lack of tolerance for each other, their narrow interests, and their hurry to go down in history. No doubt they will go down in history, but the question is how.

We have happened to hear and read the occasional equivocal statements about our political and intellectual work for the independence of Kosova and the Albanians in general. We have been inclined to interpret these statements solely from our own point of view. Wittingly or not, we have created confusion and division. We seem to forget that a politician is a politician, and must sometimes say something and at other times not say something, while intellectuals, especially in the case of the Albanians, are frank.

Frankness, especially in the case of Albanians, is not politic, especially when this frankness ascribes blame and responsibility solely to one side, the political side, and primarily to the leadership. Of course, it is neither fair nor honest for a politician or leader to blame an intellectual for his own possible failures.

Have we had our failures as a people? Of course we have, and if we have had failures, the worst has been in our own organization, especially in the most sensitive periods, such as the present one. We repeat once again that it is precisely for this reason that the cream of Albanian politicians and the cream of Albanian intellectuals must sit down together, talk frankly, and emerge with a common strategy for the steps that must be taken.

Albanian businessmen and those paying the 3 percent [tax levied by the Kosova Government on workers abroad] should not be far behind with material support. Otherwise, we are condemned to the labor of Sisyphus, for which coming generations will judge us.

The Albanians now more than ever have need of each other. They need a self-sacrificing leadership and ambitious intellectuals in the service of the people. However, they need effective organization more than anything. The people are ready to follow leaders who make the most and best efforts to realize their aspirations. Let us not forget that, at the beginning of the nineties, when the movement for Kosova's independence and the overthrow of communism in Albania began, it was the intellectuals who led the people. Now, some of them are leaders, and we ourselves voted for them. So far, we believe, they have not betrayed Albanian interests. However, if we love them, we want to ask more of them. If they are to give more, they require at their right hand uncorrupted and self-sacrificing intellectuals, not obedient trusties.

This is the only way in which we can win independence. Only in this way can we unite.

This is our last chance, if we do not want history to repeat itself. Is such a repetition, through our own inattention, not approaching? If so, when will we be able to remedy it?

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